

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1857.

THE RIGHTS, DUTIES, AND REMEDIES OF THE SOUTH.

The following views were presented by the Editor of the Review to the Southern Convention at Knoxville, Tenn., on the 10th day of August last:

Scarcely perceived in its advances, yet not the less surely and steadily, has been going on in the last half century of our national existence, that consolidation of parties within geographical lines, which it was the earnest endeavor of the founders of the Republic to prevent, and against which the "Father of his country" himself solemnly admonished on an occasion that will ever be regarded memorable.

"You have," said he, "in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes. The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expanded, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase," etc., etc.

It was twenty-five years afterwards, when Mr. Jefferson, from the retreats of Monticello, referring to the circumstances, which, in utter disregard of these solemn admonitions attended the admission of Missouri into the Union, declared that it was "the most portentous question that had ever threatened our Union," and that "in the gloomiest moments of the Revolutionary war, he had never had any apprehensions equal to that which he felt from this source."

In another quarter of a century representatives from every one of the slaveholding States, convened at the National Capital, are

constrained by the existing peril to unite in an address to their constituents, in which "acts of aggression and encroachment" are narrated "numerous, great, and dangerous, which threaten with destruction the greatest and most vital of all the interests and institutions of the South, and will, if unchecked, at no distant day, end in emancipation." "A change of place and condition," says the address, "would be the result to the white and black races of the South—a degradation greater than has ever yet fallen to the lot of a free and enlightened people, and one from which they could not escape, but by fleeing the homes of themselves and their ancestors, and by abandoning their country to its former slaves, to become the permanent home of disorder, anarchy, poverty, misery, and ruin."

Struggling thus into life from the feeblest and most contemptible beginnings, the party of agitation and disorganization which was unable, in 1848 and 1852, to carry a single State, though reaching an average popular support of about a quarter of a million of votes, had, in the accessions from every source, which begun from that time to flock to its standards, become so emboldened, so inflamed by passions and prejudices, by timid counsels and concessions, rendered so entirely frantic by an act which restored the Constitution to its fundamental purity, as to be prepared to emerge from the Presidential canvass of 1856 with nearly a million and a half of votes, and with the electoral support of eleven of the States, including the influential and powerful States of Ohio and New York.

As boldly and openly proclaimed, the purposes of this active, energetic, and disciplined organization, are such an absolute and unconditional assault upon the constitutional rights and privileges of the other members of the Union, as in any other country, not crushed by despotism, would be met by open and sanguinary revolution. These are—

1st. The right of regulating their own affairs—of administering property and enjoying the fruits in such manner as shall prove acceptable without external let or hindrance.

2d. The right of expansion and development—of establishing property and of carrying it under due protection of law, wherever the rights of citizenship necessarily protects the person, and of occupying with it, and thus maintaining, the political strength and consideration so essential to all the parts of a confederation, and which it was the especial purpose of ours to secure—the unsettled territories purchased by the common blood and treasure.

Proclaiming, everywhere, the decree which emanated from the Convention that assembled in Philadelphia on the 18th of June, 1856, "*it is both the right and the duty of Congress, to*

prohibit in the territories, those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery”—every other existing party organization was at once effectually beaten down and trampled under foot, and the standards of victory firmly and triumphantly erected on the capitol of all of the non-slaveholding States, with unimportant exceptions, from the St. John's to Lake Erie, from the waters of the Alleghany to those of the Nebraska. It is a part of the history of that struggle, that but for the success of its opponents in an election immediately preceding, won by a majority little stronger than a Corporal's guard, and upon local issues perhaps, aided by the arguments to State pride, and the personal advantages accruing from them to one of the candidates, our present distinguished chief magistrate, irrespective of his political predilections and affinities, in all human probability the contest would have been determined in the election of a party and a President, bound by its antecedents, its platforms, and its pledges, to carry out these exclusive and wicked designs.

It is unnecessary, perhaps, at this time, after the immediate emergency has passed, to argue the question as to how far the South would have submitted, or if, as some have seemed disposed to teach, she might have consoled herself in the faith, that all the experiences of the world would, at once, be reversed in her favor, by this overwhelming and seemingly unscrupulous power, in the very arms of victory, turning a pliant ear to the words of argument and conciliation, stepping hurriedly backwards, abandoning its outposts, recrossing the Rubicon, re-establishing the guarantees it has wantonly broken down, and rendering us again a free, equal, and happy people.

The question is not, however, in regard to the past, for which there is no remedy, but the future

"To be thus is nothing,
But to be safely thus—
* * * * * Our fears in Banquo
Stick deep."

There is a loyalty and an affectionate regard for the Union existing everywhere at the South, the result of Revolutionary struggles, and honors encountered and won by her people and her statesmen, of republican instincts, of generous faith and confidence, and of self-sacrificing devotion, so intense that it has supported her through every hour of darkness and of gloom, and nerved her heart continually for new and higher sacrifices and efforts. This sublime and uncalculating faith has been so little understood or appreciated by her enemies that they have received from it rather encouragement in their nefarious designs, arguing and believing it to be without limit, and that concession, compromise, and *submission* must follow

inevitably from decade to decade, in proportion as the pressure is great or the danger of disruption would seem to be imminent.

What say we then, citizens, are the great questions of sectional agitation settled, or after all our struggles and our hopes, our loyalty and our faith, do we believe, in the ordinary course of things, that they can be settled, short of an absolute surrender in the next quarter of a century, perhaps in one-fourth of that time, of everything that the South has contended for upon the subject of slavery? Can any intelligent Southern man, placing his hands upon his heart, declare that he sees any evidence of a reaction in the ranks and purposes of our opponents; that he believes another slave State will ever be admitted into the Union, should such present itself, from the Northwest or the Southwest; that the principles of the Constitution will ever be carried out any better than they now are in relation to the rendition of fugitive slaves, or that it will be found convenient again, in any National Convention, to take up for the Presidency an uncompromising representative of the South? With the rapid increase of free, and the utter impossibility of any more slave States, how long will it be before the three-fifths representation of the South will be struck contemptuously from the Constitution? Bound thus, hand and foot, what feeble barrier can be interposed to the proclamation from the National Capital like that which was made from the French Assembly, or the British Parliament, of *universal and unconditional emancipation*? It is unnecessary to believe that our enemies intend this much at present, and, without impropriety, we may admit their protestations to the contrary. It may be that they see the end without daring openly to avow it, for only by cautious steps can great revolutions be effected. It may be that they do not see it, for how seldom is it given to the ignorant and fanatical to look beyond the immediate matter before them and see its remote and inevitable consequences. Was ever fanatical moderation heard of in fanatical successes? Was ever a power accomplishing an unlawful and tyrannical purpose, and capable of taking another step, known to hesitate? "Wilmot provisos," "Missouri compromises," "free soil," "no more slave States"—have they any other but one meaning to every intelligent person, so that he that runs may read; and does any man in the Convention believe that that meaning is anything else than slavery extinction—unqualified extinction—North, South, East, and West, wherever the federal power and the federal numbers legitimately or illegitimately can be made to effect it!

Are we then prepared to give up slavery? The slaves of the South, at the present time, constitute from one-third to

one-half, and in some cases more than one-half of the entire population of the several States, and considering the climate and other circumstances, perhaps three-fourths or four-fifths of its industrial capacity. It is the extinction of this population and of this capacity, and nothing else than that is demanded—of population, because all experience has shown, that in a state of freedom the black races will not increase, but on the contrary do, from natural causes, rapidly retrograde, which result comes also from the pressure of a superior race upon them and from unavoidable exportation—extinction of industrial capacity, because the world has afforded no example of a region situated like the Southern States, ever having been developed by free white labor or of black races in a state of freedom, ever having been induced to submit to the discipline and undergo the physical labor necessary to productive development. View the fertile fields of St. Domingo, where tyranny, vice, and want, have substituted healthful government and unbounded wealth, or turn the eye to those once fair and garden Antilles, sacrificed by a false philanthropy, deprived of every source of development, and now, after twenty years of disastrous experiment, imploring a restoration, in even any modified form, of the slave-trade itself. Compare Texas with Mexico, Cuba and Brazil with the States of Central America. European labor colonization in all of these regions has ever failed, and must ever signally fail. Disease and death go hand in hand with it. Over half a million of Europeans, in the cities alone of the South, have paid the forfeit with their lives, of attempting to reverse the course of nature, by assuming to undergo the exposed and exhausting labor, which experience has assigned in this latitude only to the blacks. The rice, the cane, the sugar, and the cotton fields show the same melancholy results wherever the experiment is tested. Only insane men act upon theories which contradict experience. The existence of the South as an inhabitable, productive region and all of its great powers to grow the staples which make up the commerce of the world, depend upon the resources of black labor, and there can be no other black labor than slave labor. Are we then prepared to surrender up this labor to the theorists, the pseudo philanthropists, the socialists, and agrarians, and their selfish, unscrupulous, or deluded followers?

"This glorious Union," this wide extending Union, this world feared Union, its stars and its stripes, "it must be maintained." "Perish the colonies but save this principle." "Liberty and Union—now and forever—one and inseparable." So have pæons been sung, and so are they now sung at times by oppressed and oppressor. But are these the ebullitions of virtue and of patriotism when springing fresh from the South-

ern heart, and in view of all the circumstances of the present Southern condition? Who will dare to utter them upon the floor of this Convention or at any hustings from the Bay of Delaware to the banks of the Colorado, confessing the servility which is involved? Is there a divine right of government proclaimed, and a divine injunction to unconditional obedience, and are liberty and manhood and its rights grown so cheap that they are not to be mentioned in the same breath hereafter with the sentiment of "union?" Must the shadow be clung to if the substance has departed? Union, because acceptable with the living man, must it needs be with the festering corpse? Union, because acceptable and advantageous with those who shared in our perils, who sympathized in our hopes and our fears and respected our feelings and our rights, and considered us as their equals and their brothers, must it perforce be acceptable and supplicated for, with earnest entreaty, with those who in their pulpits, in their press, at their hustings, in their parlors and schools, on their streets, in their legislative halls, on the floors of Congress, menace us with insurrection and civil war, denounce us as cowards and robbers, wearing the civilization of the dark ages, unfitted to share with them in christian communion, and so cut off from the pale of sympathy as to be warred upon in our industry and our rights, and to be excluded from every future avenue of national growth and aggrandizement. Union of the South American colonies with old Spain. Union of Texas with the Mexican Confederation. Union of the revolting colonies with George the Third! "*Give me George the Third or give me death.*"

"Thou shall not force me from thee,
Use me reproachfully and like a slave.
Tread on me—buffet me.
I'll bear it with all patience,
Till wounded by my sufferings thou relent."

The Federal Union (and this is the language of the bold and the free) has the same sanctity as any other of the thousand governments that have had place in the annals of the world. It is to be maintained by every patriot exertion, whilst impelled by the principles of equity and justice and a proper regard to the rights of all of its members. It is to be crushed by these same patriot exertions whenever it assumes to be otherwise, without hope of restoration, and degenerates into acts of open and palpable tyranny; for

"Not even the high anointing hand of Heaven
Can authorize oppression,
* * * Tyranny
Absolves all faith."

It is thus that Southern men should feel and speak and think, and speak *unanimously and on all occasions*. We

have strengthened the adversary by sentimentality. This bold and united position taken twenty years ago by the South might have saved the Constitution. It may do so yet, if the front of defence be unbroken, embracing, without discordance of sentiments, without local jealousies and hostilities, the whole of the proscribed section; or, if broken, if the guilty are held up to public scorn and public punishment as traitors and tories, more steeped in guilt than those of the Revolution itself. It may not be too late at least to try the experiment. If it does not succeed, the Southern unanimity and association, which has been engendered, will be exactly what is wanted to fit us for the emergency, that will then have arrived.

Let us be talked to no longer of Southern party organizations, and of tariff, and bank, and internal improvement, or other discussions to divide and separate us and chain us to the car of this leader or that leader of national politics. The day for all of these things has passed. There is room now but for one party at the South, a "hearth and home party," a "wife and children party," a party which shall interpose hereafter its united breasts against the sure strides of the power which threatens and promotes servile insurrection, the laying waste of fields, the paralysis of industry, the recession of civilization, the damming up of all the outlets of population and escape. This is my party. High and protective tariffs, lavish expenditures for internal improvements, national banks, magnificent national extravagance, exclusion of foreigners, religious intolerance, let them be adopted or abandoned; they are but means of ordinary oppression which sometimes a minority may be required to endure. They but inflict taxings and tithings, leaving the sources of wealth and of existence undisturbed. Slavery restriction and slavery extinction, on the other hand, like the Egyptian task masters, continue to demand the tale of bricks while taking away the straw with which they are made, resolving the South back, at a single step, into worse than barbarism.

National parties and national politicians, if we place our faith exclusively in them, may ask us for a few more concessions, a little more compromise here, a small surrender there, something that will enable us to fight in Maine, or to save ourselves in Kansas, and pray what have we to give? Are our charities so large that we can abandon our safety for their repose? Brothers, there is nothing to give up now unless it be honor and existence. If the Constitution be not good enough for Maine, or for Kansas, we can but lament it. Our people stand upon that rock. If there are to be concessions it will do no harm for them to come now and then from the other side. We are grateful to your national and conserva-

tive men, who, in every contest, have entered the breach and contended manfully and nobly with us, and we shall never fail to reverence and honor them; but events have shown that you are not adequate to the protection of the citadel in the crushing and overwhelming power which surrounds you. It is not upon you then that we now rely. Danger has taught us union which will bring strength. It will be in our power, as it will be in our right, to demand terms as well as to receive them. Though we may have all confidence in the wisdom, firmness, and patriotism, of the men who are now at the head of affairs, there are guarantees for the future required, which are of vastly greater importance than present security.

On all of these accounts, and on many others, will the importance of the periodical assembling of this Convention in the several Southern centres be appreciated. It is a very common mode of preparing the people for great emergencies. It was resorted to before the revolution as the conventions at New York and Albany will indicate. Conventions have been the successful means of aggression on the part of our enemies. They are peculiarly adapted to the South, whose scattered population renders the power of the press less effective than in other quarters. At these gatherings the patriotism and intelligence and eloquence of the people are represented, and in the cordial interchange of sentiment, it is perceived how little there is in reality to separate and how much to unite us. Homogeneity in pursuits, tastes, inclinations, manners, modes of life, render our brotherhood indissoluble. The Olympic games brought not greater blessings to Greece. If these conventions have not stayed our enemies, they have strengthened the hearts and the purposes of ourselves. They have stimulated or been the exponents of discussions, which, for ability and demonstrative power in behalf of ourselves and our institutions, have scarcely a parallel in history. We have strengthened the vassalating and given faith to the doubting. Our statesmen and publicists justify and apologize and deprecate for us no longer upon the plea of necessity, but having thoroughly investigated, make their stand and defence upon right and the Constitution.

Admit that in practical results the Convention has fallen short of the fond expectation and hopes of many, and that it has built no railroad, equipped no steamship, nor established a factory or a college, as many of its enemies have exultingly asserted, though without foundation in truth, if the history of the past ten years be examined, it has yet prepared us to understand the importance of all these matters, and when the time shall have fully come, they will not be wanting. There-

fore, without discouragement should the Southern Convention continue its appeals, teaching the people—

1. That they have rights more to be valued and defended than any theories or sentiments about Union, and a thousand times more important, because involving everything for which Government or Union is at all to be valued.

2. That they have resources, which, though adequate to render them an important member of the Federal Union, are at the same time sufficient to enable them to exist without that Union, and to maintain the rank of a first class power whenever it shall be deemed necessary, to establish a separate confederation, and that it is the duty of the people of the South, to develop these resources, and to increase this sense of independence, security, and power, by opening up the avenues of intercommunication, by stimulating agriculture, by promoting commerce, by steamships, and by steam-mills, and more than all of these, by a system of home education, which shall save our children from the poison which infects the springs from which they have hitherto been in the habit of drinking.

Nor let it be forgotten, that *all* of the great republics of ancient times, were the growth of the South, and went hand in hand, with the existence of slave institutions. The Southern slaveholders of Greece and Rome, carried the civilization and the acts and the arms of antiquity over the world, and with them all the refined notions of liberty, of law, of public polity, and taste which have come down to modern times. The Savior of the world found and left it slaveholding.

The ten millions of inhabitants that constitute the present slave-holding States, and the four millions of slaves, make up an aggregate as large as that of Great Britain when she contested the revolution, or struggled against Napoleon and the armies of Europe; it is five times the population of the United Continental Colonies, very nearly equals the strength of Prussia, is three times that of Sweden and Norway, and about the same as Belgium, Portugal, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, and Greece combined, whilst its territory falls little short of that of the whole of Europe, excluding Russia and Turkey.

In productive wealth, the means and resources of the South are perhaps not excelled by those of any other nation in the world. With a variety of climates and soils adequate to the production of every article adapted for the necessities or the luxuries of life, whether in food, clothing, or ornament, and actually producing the raw materials of them, not only in quantities sufficient for the home consumption, but to constitute in our relations with foreign countries, from three to

four-fifths of the whole American commerce; employing the shipping and the merchants of our neighbors, feeding their looms and their spindles, adding wealth and opulence to their marts, and rendering indissolubly connected with us the greatest powers of Europe. It is the cotton bale that makes the treaties of the world, and binds over the nations to keep the peace. No other competitor with us has been able to stand for a moment. We have capacious ports and harbors, unlimited inland navigation, mountain country, and valley country, exhaustless resources of coal and iron and other valuable minerals, a contented, active, prospering, and increasing laboring population, directed by those whose enterprise and capacities are exhibited in the results they have accomplished, and whose virtues remain uncorrupted by want, by the pressure of rival interests and competition, by the steady influx from European lazarettos, by the irreligious and impious isms which springing up in other quarters, teach the overthrow of all laws and government, and the reconstruction of society itself. In every time of peril or of sacrifice, it has been ours to supply to the national councils or to the national armies, the genius which could conceive, combine, and direct, and the power which could as fearlessly and triumphantly execute. Jefferson in the Convention, Washington and Jackson and Scott and Taylor (the leading captains that America has had) in the field, where always the South supplied her men and her means, in the Revolution equally with the rest of the Union, and in all later wars in much the larger proportion.

Though, then, I am unwilling to make any more of the kind of sacrifices which are asked for, to save the Union, and have been forced by high and imperious necessity, to become reconciled to the idea of letting its enemies, if they will, consummate their mad purposes and force upon us the virtuous and patriotic purpose of dissolution, I yet yield to no one in my estimate of what the Union was capable of becoming, and of what blessings it might have conferred upon mankind, if administered according to the intentions of our Fathers who formed it, and left it as our inheritance—the Washington's and Jefferson's, Hamilton's and Jay's, and Rutledge's and Madison's. I have gloried in its arts and its arms, its astounding progress, its rapidly increasing villages and towns and cities, its fleets and navies, its giant works of intercommunication, its heroic struggles with man and nature, and the influence and power of its flag throughout the world. I shall glory in them again, and take a generous part, as will all of us, in aiding the accomplishment of so great a mission, if recognized and respected, and treated in every respect as co-ordinate members, no where inferior, but in all things equal. It is a Union to which we

give as much as is received, and it would be easy to demonstrate many times as much.

From no considerations of sectional interest or sectional fear can it be said for a moment, that the South has been found clinging to the Federal Union, to which she has been (in many respects) but a tributary, conveying not unwillingly, her wealth in unequal contributions, to maintain its progress and its state. Whilst she has not had the majority to tax, she has had the broad shoulders to bear the burden of protective taxation, and of navigation laws, which are building up feudal palaces throughout New England, and sending fleets of merchantmen from her ports.

Let the South but assume her stand among the nations, and these palaces and fleets and navies shall, with the rapidity that marked the burnishing of the Arabian's lamp, be found to have transferred themselves a thousand miles away, and have taken their seats among the mountains of Virginia, Tennessee, and Carolina, or in the harbors of the Chesapeake, of Charleston, Brunswick, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans. Great interior towns will spring up as by enchantment and great sea-coast cities and the arteries of communication between them reticulate the whole face of the country. The mammoth European steamship line, would at once plough the waters of the Chesapeake, as other lines would bring into frequent communication our ports with each other and with Europe. Our trade would be made free, and all the world invited to participate in it. "Where the carcass is there will be the eagles." With \$200,000,000 to \$250,000,000 of exportable products, and an equal demand for the productions of other countries, adequate revenues for all the wants of the most imposing government, would be had from duties, almost nominal in comparison with what at present exist, and an abundant basis would be supplied for the wisest treaties and the most liberal diplomacy. All the world by their necessities and interests would be bound to keep the peace, and nations are alone ruled by their interests. The North would find us a profitable neighbor, at her door, ready to trade upon just and fair terms, or if these be denied, ready and willing and able to carry that trade to another quarter. To make war upon us would be still more to cripple the channels of her industry, to add to her impoverishment, and undertake that which the genius, the instincts, and the education of her people have unfitted her. Our border property would be protected as much, and as sacredly as is now the common property on the Canadian line. Her dreamers and theorists would imagine themselves no more responsible for our institutions than they are for those of Cuba or Brazil, and the whole power of the

Northern government would be exercised in sending back our slaves, under rendition treaties, the moment that they touched her shores, which would be preferable to paying for them, as England did, under the provisions of the treaty of Ghent. The danger of border wars could be no greater than in Europe, whose states have often but imaginary boundaries, and would be much less from the peculiar characteristics of American life. We have no border wars with Canada. Reciprocal treaties would be the interest of the Northern and Southern governments, offensive and defensive, against the rest of the world, for the reasons that the United States would have gone into convention with the South American States, for the maintenance of the integrity of the continent against the balance of power systems of Europe. England ever ready to forget her theories and her sentimentality, in the dictates of lordly interest and of empire, would unite herself in lasting diplomacy with a country which already supplies five-sixths of her industrial material, and would become a larger and still larger consumer of her wares. France has few ships, and could not, if she would, conduct a war three thousand miles distant, and with Russia and England at her doors, she will have little time for such adventure. The Mississippi and other great rivers would be made free to all requiring their navigation upon the principle that the great rivers of Europe are now free. Population will crowd in upon us from all sources. We shall have the men of intelligence, of enterprise, and capital, the artisans, of Europe and the North, in the new and boundless field that will be presented. If wars must come, despite of all the causes which seem to render them improbable, and the most strenuous efforts of the patriot, the South is protected against invasion by the causes which destroyed in a single campaign a score of general officers, and with them nearly the whole of the army of French who undertook to operate in 1803 in the West Indies. Upon her soil she will prove to be as invincible as the Macedonian phalanxes. Her system of labor will enable her to spare more men, in proportion, from the industrial pursuits, to take the field, than any other powers, and her semi-military system of society has at all times raised her martial character to the highest possible rank. Neither in the war of the Revolution, nor in 1812, though her slaves were as numerous in proportion as now, did she experience the least embarrassment from them, although at times the enemy's ships were in sight of her shores, urging them to insurrection. The Continental Congress ordered a legion of two thousand slaves to be raised, and a battalion of this population served hand in hand with the whites at the battle of New Orleans. Against the North the South would at least be a match, at any and all times, and

against one or all of the European powers, *the common interests of America would dictate her security.*

Free thus in her industry and her enterprise, the growth of the South would be commensurate with the extent of the regions and the inclinations of the peoples who surround her. Mexico, Central America, Cuba, the West Indies, generally, would properly, in the remote future, become parts of a system which assimilated so much in its necessities with their own. Slavery, in its natural increase, or by the reëopening of the slave trade, if it pleased, (for we should find the world in time willing enough on that subject,) will supply to us the labor that will be the indispensable agent in this great development.

These, it seems to me, are the views to which we should accustom ourselves, inculcating them upon our children, discussing them in our gatherings, and proclaiming them from our Conventions. They will fit us the better for those broad and national duties which become us, as citizens of the Federal Union, should its behests again, through the interposition of a higher power than that of man, be exercised consistently with our security, repose, and honor, for they, only, can be worthy and effective constituencies who both know and dare maintain their rights. When this manly feeling shall be extinguished in a single one of our States, the knell of American republicanism will indeed have been truly sounded.

Let us proceed then with our discussions and mature our plans for the development and strengthening of the South, morally, politically, industrially, and intellectually, for they are all measures of peace, good will, and duty, and would be incumbent upon us, as well in the profoundest political repose and security, as in any hour of peril. We have clearly much to cheer and console us, although much to embarrass. A better disposition undoubtedly rules in the South with reference to these matters. Its shipping interest and direct trade are augmenting, and at a public dinner in Charleston, a short time since, three gentlemen, whose names I could mention, counted up twenty-two ships that were owned between them. The great internal improvement works of the South are being pressed with vigor, and but lately the marriage of the Mississippi and Southern Atlantic was imposingly celebrated. These roads are climbing the mountains of Virginia, Carolina, and Tennessee, opening that magnificent country with its abundant granaries, its inexhaustible mines, its invigorating and health-giving waters. At the extreme South the work of a Southern Pacific railroad is being vigorously prosecuted, with the demonstrative certainty of success. Conventions at Bristol and at Old Point, representing millions of capital, have given endorsement to a great steamship line, and agents are now at work at home

and in Europe to consummate it. Abundant crops, with the highest prices, are enriching the South, and our factories are fast increasing in number and in dividends. Patriotic men, a few days since, convened at Nashville, and matured their plans for a great Central Southern University, and the local institutions in all of the States, exhibit a prosperity to them hitherto unknown. In the newspapers of the day it is announced that the University of Virginia, that glorious monument erected to Mr. Jefferson, will have applications the coming season from eight hundred students. Our boys and girls are being called home from the North, and the former have often not waited for the summons, but taken matters in their own hands, determined that they would not submit to the associations which Northern schools required. The spirit of the boys has taught patriotism and virtue to the fathers. A growing preference is now manifested for Southern teachers over Northern ones, and in a notable instance it was found to be impracticable, to retain at the head of a great institution of learning, in one of our States, a gentleman, whose virtues were not to be questioned, but whose nativity was beyond Mason and Dixon's line. Southern school books are being prepared and printed and used, and Southern literature begins at last to receive a portion of encouragement. Our citizens are embellishing their sea coasts and interior retreats, and fashion, beauty, and opulence are finding at them all that was sighed for and not enjoyed at the Newports and Saratogas. A little more enterprise among our merchants and traders is perceptible, though it, alas, has been at the lowest ebb. Amid such encouragement let us persevere. It is impossible to say how much the history of this Convention may have had to do with these gratifying results. Advance! Encourage individual and State efforts, demand an equal federal consideration, insist upon a revenue tariff, or direct taxation, upon equal mail facilities, equal bounties, if any, to our steam service, justice and the Constitution in Kansas, a fair distribution of the public arms and proper protection in forts, light-houses, and navy yards for the Southern coasts, the repeal of the navigation and coasting laws, the recall of the slave-fleet from the coast of Africa, protection to the Tehuantepec route, and a proper modification of the neutrality laws.

Let us be cheered gentlemen, by the reflection that posterity will recognize and be benefited by our exertions; and that in reference to occasions like these which bring us annually together, when their full fruition shall come, it will happen in the language of Henry V, at Agincourt, that many

— "now abed
Will hold their manhoods cheap, while any speak
That fought with us," &c.

TEXAS—A PROVINCE, REPUBLIC, AND STATE.

We proceed, in fulfillment of the pledge, which was made in the August number of the Review, to submit an abstract of Texas, historically and politically, and shall analyze for that purpose the work of Mr. Yoakum, but lately issued from the press,* and such others as are within our reach.

It is unnecessary to run back further in this sketch than to the landing of La Salle in Texas, when in quest of the mouth of the Mississippi in 1685. A full account of the explorations of that Commander has already been prepared by us, and may be consulted by the reader on reference to the volumes of the Review for 1856.

Spain, who claimed Texas as a part of Mexico, heard with much anxiety of the movements of La Salle, and immediately dispatched a detachment in pursuit of him. It was successful only in capturing a few straggling members of his party, the rest having perished on the way or passed into Louisiana. Colonies were also sent out from Mexico to make sure of the country, but they faded away; and as late as 1694 the province was without European settlers. Alarmed afterwards by the visit of St. Denis, sent out by Gov. Crozat of Louisiana, it was determined, without delay, to establish missions in the territory, the first of which begun in 1715. This period may be then fixed upon as that of the permanent occupancy of Texas by Spain.

Mr. Yoakum inclines to the opinion that the name of Texas is derived either from the appellation of some petty tribe of Indians, or that it is of Spanish origin, referring to the light structures of the Indians on the Neches. This latter is a suggestion of Mr. Gayarré, the historian of Louisiana. Another theory is that the word was applied by the Indians to the early settlers, and signified in their dialect *friends*. The country was, however, long known in official reports as the "New Phillipines." La Harpe, in 1719, first uses the name of Texas. In the same connection it may be noted how the several names attached to the largest river of Texas are accounted for. The river was

*History of Texas, from its first settlement in 1685 to its annexation to the United States in 1846, by H. Yoakum, Esq., 2 vols., with extended appendix. New York: Redfield. Mr. Yoakum seems to have collated with great care all the existing material, with much that has never yet appeared in print. All contemporary accounts, personal narratives, private correspondence, individual reminiscences, newspaper statements, and official documents, are called into requisition. The work, though wanting in system and condensed expression, is still of very great interest and value, and is deserving of general study. The author was evidently an enthusiastic admirer of Gen. Houston. He was an eminent lawyer, and we regret to learn is lately deceased.

discovered at different points, and supposed to be different streams. Those who saw it at Santa Fé in the north knew it as the "*Del Norte*;" when seen at *Presidio*, where its width is very great, it was the *Rio Grande*; but seen at Reynoso, among the fiercest and most warlike of the Indian tribes, it was the *Rio Bravo*.

Despite of all the ardent efforts of the missionaries, and of the Government, Texas did not prosper. Its population increased little, if any, between 1722 and 1744, on account of Indian wars and the steady prohibition of commerce with Louisiana. It seemed rather to be the policy of Spain to preserve it as an unsettled frontier, and a barrier against the encroachments of the Europeans of the North. Its whole white population did not then exceed 1,500 souls.

France having ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1765, in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the English, an intercourse immediately sprung up between that province and Texas. Says Mr. Yoakum:*

"Texas had, it is true, but little to sell; yet, as the neighbor of Louisiana, she was, to some extent, the merchant of that colony and the internal provinces of Mexico. She had, of her own production, horses, cattle, and sheep: with these articles of trade she supplied the Louisianians, in exchange for manufactured goods. The precious metals sent from Chihuahua, Coahuila, New Leon, and even from New Mexico, passed through her territories to New Orleans, as the nearest wholesale market, in exchange for the various manufactures imported thence from the parent state. These transfers were made on mules, travelling generally in caravans, with a guard deemed sufficient to protect them from the Indians." (Vol. I, p. 95.)

The United States having come into possession of Louisiana in 1803, by purchase from the French, very many interesting questions at once arose in regard to its western boundaries, leading to long continued negotiation and debate, to which reference will hereafter be made. During the Spanish possession, Philip Nolan, who had been engaged in trade between San Antonio and Natchez since 1785, set out in the year 1800 from the Mississippi with a band of twenty Americans, crossed the Trinity, reached the Brasos, and was received everywhere with much kindness by the Indians. His camp was,

* In the debate upon the purchase of Louisiana, Mr. Uriah Tracy, of Connecticut, said in the United States Senate, "We can hold territory; but to admit the inhabitants into the Union, to make citizens of them, and States, by treaty, we can not constitutionally do; and no subsequent act of legislation, or even ordinary amendment to our Constitution, can legalize such measures. If done at all, they must be done by universal consent of all the States, or partners to our political association. And this universal consent, I am positive, can never be obtained to such a pernicious measure as the admission of Louisiana—of a world, and such a world!—into our Union. *This would be absorbing the Northern States, and rendering them as insignificant in the Union as they ought to be, if, by their own consent, the measure should be adopted.*" (Vol. I, p. 121.)

however, attacked by 150 Spaniards. Nolan was killed, which caused the command to devolve upon Bean.* The fight was long and brave, ending in a treaty of peace, upon condition that the Americans should leave the country. They were betrayed by the Spaniards, notwithstanding, and marched as prisoners into Mexico. Says Mr. Yoakum:

"At the close of 1806, Texas was in a more flourishing condition than it had been previously. The introduction of new settlers, the marching and display of so many troops, the presence of so many distinguished generals, and the introduction from Louisiana of considerable wealth, brought in by the immigrants hither in consequence of the transfer of that country to the United States—all these causes seemed to impart life and cheerfulness to the province. The regular military force in Texas was little short of a thousand men. Four hundred of these were stationed at Spanish Bluff, the contraband crossing of the Trinity; a hundred more at Robbins' ferry, on the same river; a hundred more at Nacogdoches; and nearly four hundred at San Antonio." (Vol. I. p. 136.)

A few Americans had settled along the San Antonio road, on both sides of Nacogdoches, and the society of that town improved very rapidly; parties, dinners, and dances, being of common occurrence. San Antonio was in a flourishing state with about 2,000 inhabitants—the whole population of Texas being about 7,000. The principal commerce was with Mexico via Monterey and Montelova, and with New Orleans, contraband, via Natchitoches. Many of the Spanish settlers were from the best society of old Spain or of Mexico, and the priests were usually men of classical learning and address.

The Republican party in Mexico had in view at this time a revolution, and the establishment of a federative system like that of the United States. Col. Bernardo Gutierrez visited Natchitoches, where he formed an acquaintance with an American officer named Magee, who was young, bold, and ardent, and from some incursions he had been making into Texas, had already begun to dream of conquering it to the Rio Grande, and setting up an independent state, to be made a part of the American Union. He was a graduate of West Point, born in Massachusetts, but full of the fire of "fillibustering," to use a later designation, for what, when successful, is always known as generous sympathy with the oppressed. The young officer gave a willing ear. Bernardo could bring over the Mexican population of Texas, and would be *nominally* commander-in-chief. Magee would bring over the freebooters of the neutral ground. Some agents would secure the entire Indian coöperation. Col. Davenport, a man of wealth, would supply the means. One hundred and fifty-

* Bean was then a youth of 17. His subsequent career, both in Mexico and Texas, constitutes one of the most interesting records of the age, and rivals the pages of the romancers.

eight Americans speedily repaired to the rendezvous on the Sabine, under a call for raising the Republican army of the north. Victory followed upon victory. Most of the inhabitants east of the Trinity joined the ranks of the Americans. Kemper was chosen Major, and Magee Colonel, and the forces, at least 800 in number, carried everything before them, took Bahia, and in front of its walls contended with great bravery against the combined forces of the Spaniards. In the final struggle, under the lead of Kemper, the enemy were put to flight with immense loss. They were pursued in the direction of San Antonio, and a few miles from that town a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Spaniards, 2,500 strong, were opposed to about 1,300 Americans, Indians, and Mexicans, but gave way with the vigorous charge, flying to San Antonio, their commander selling his life most heroically. Nearly a thousand of them were killed and wounded. The surrender of San Antonio soon followed. This achievement was succeeded by another in which the Americans, under Perry, won a complete victory, leaving a thousand of the enemy dead, wounded, or taken prisoners.* Don Bernardo giving dissatisfaction to the troops, was substituted by Toledo, a Cuban of distinguished Spanish family, and an ardent republican. He had been in Louisiana engaging recruits. On assuming the command Toledo set to work to restore order in Texas, appointing Alcaldes and other necessary officers. On a third rally of the Spaniards, however, under Arredondo, the deficiencies of Toledo exhibited themselves, and the jealousies to which his appointment had given rise. His forces sustained overwhelming defeat, and but a handful of the Americans succeeded in reaching Natchitoches. The victory was the signal for the most horrid barbarities to the citizens of San Antonio. Humanity shrinks from recording the shocking scenes that followed. Toledo eventually united himself with the royalists.

"The victorious party in Texas pursued with vengeance every friend of the republican party. The town of Trinidad, at Spanish Bluff, was utterly desolated. Those of the inhabitants who did not make their escape were cruelly butchered at a hill a few hundred yards west of Robbins' ferry, known as the *Loma del Toro*, or Bull's hill. The republicans of Nacogdoches fled to Louisiana. The survivors of the *neutral ground* returned to their old haunts, and formed a nucleus around which subsequent revolutionists might rally." (Vol. I, p. 175.)

Mr. Yoakum refers to the extraordinary conduct of Col. Magee as altogether inexplicable. Though the head and front of the expedition, yet when victory was almost in his hands at La Bahia, he had proposed, after an interview with the

* Poor Perry, after exhibitions of energy and valor, finding himself overpowered and his men entirely destroyed, imitated the unfortunate Magee in taking his own life.

Spanish commander, Salcedo, to capitulate on condition of being allowed to leave the country. Finding that his men with unanimity refused to comply with the terms, he is said to have retired to his tent, and on hearing of their successes, perhaps from mortification, committed suicide.

Meanwhile the sympathy of the Americans for their republican brothers of Mexico continued, and large reinforcements were sent into the country. Several Mexicans were indicted at New Orleans for a violation of the neutrality laws. Galveston Island, which had remained unsettled since the days of La Salle, increasing in size perhaps from the recession of the waters of the gulf, because the head granters of Aury, who, under Herrera, minister of the Mexican patriots, commanded a fleet of twelve or fifteen small vessels, in the service of the Republics of Mexico, Venezuela, La Plata, and New Grenada. These vessels conducted successful privateering against the gulf commerce of Spain, and after a while privateering degenerated into actual piracy. When slavers were taken, their live cargo was either landed at Bazou, Lafouche, Louisiana, or marched overland to Alexandria, in the same State. The traffic was highly remunerative, and large numbers of slaves were no doubt thus introduced, in violation of the laws of the land. The price of a negro at Galveston was a dollar a pound! On the abandonment of this point by Aury it was taken possession of by Jean Lafitte, one of three brothers, natives of France. His first privateering was from Carthenega, from whence he often visited the United States. The embargo in 1807 favored his operations. The Island of Barrataria, on the gulf, became the resort of the lawless of all nations, who had been driven from their homes by wars or the instincts of plunder. At the head of such men Lafitte soon took conspicuous place, keeping as agents in the business his two brothers at New Orleans, and interesting in his fortunes many of the largest merchants of that city. On this resort being broken up by Commodore Patterson, Lafitte offered his sword to the Americans, and did good service at the battle of New Orleans. He afterwards received a Mexican commission as a cruiser, and was soon at the head of the establishment, which, as was said above, was now transferred to Galveston Island.

It is worthy of remark that notwithstanding the notoriety of all these facts and their being within the personal knowledge of so many living persons, a writer at New Orleans some years since, having the advantage of connection with a leading press, maintained with zeal the idle story that this renowned freebooter and privateer, Lafitte, was only a plain blacksmith

of that city, who had no knowledge whatever of navigation or of war.*

"Lafitte was a well-formed, handsome man, about six feet two inches in height, strongly built, with large hazel eyes, black hair, and generally wore a mustache. He dressed in a green uniform and an otter-skin cap. He was a man of polite and easy manners, of retired habits, generous disposition, and of such a winning address, that his influence over his followers was almost absolute. He located his town on the ruins of Aury's village, built him a house, which he painted red, and threw up around it a fort. Very soon many other houses were erected. His followers, who had wives or mistresses, brought them there, and society at Galveston, whatever may be said of its morals, began to have all the elements of permanency. Through New Orleans they were supplied with building-materials and provisions; a 'Yankee' boarding-house sprang up; and, to complete the establishment, they constructed a small arsenal and dockyard." (Vol. I, p. 196.)

The establishment at Galveston Island in 1817 had increased to 1,000 men of all nations, refugees from justice or oppression, acting under commissions from the revolted colonies of Spain, and committing havoc upon the commerce of the mother country. In consequence of similar attacks on American vessels Lieut. Kearney, of the navy, was sent against the island and caused it to be evacuated in 1821. What became of Lafitte afterwards is uncertain, though it is said that he died in Yucatan in 1826. During the occupation of Galveston, another American expedition under Gen. Long, of Maury county, Tennessee, went overland into Texas. It departed from the vicinities of Natchez, but ended disastrously with the death of the commander and the most of the party.

We come at last to the first legitimate colonization of Texas. Moses Austin, a citizen of Connecticut, but for twenty years a resident of Missouri, obtained a very liberal grant from Mexico in 1821, but died before effecting any action under it. The charge, therefore, devolved upon his son Stephen Austin, and the colonists, by this grant, were to be Louisianians of the catholic faith, who should swear fealty to Spain, &c. They were to be entitled to receive 640 acres of land to each man, 320 to the wife, and 160 acres to each child, 80 acres to each slave. Other grants being unjustly pressed upon Mexico, Iturbide, who had forcibly usurped the Emperor's crown, caused a general colonization law to be passed, most liberal in its provisions, but providing against the sale or purchase of slaves, and for the freedom of all slaves at 14 years of age who were born in the empire. On the overthrow of the usurper by Santa Anna, and the proclamation of the Federal Constitution of 1824, this law was repealed, but the grant to Austin was on several occasions solemnly confirmed. A new

* For many of the papers to which this controversy gave rise, see the earlier volumes of the Review, particularly Vol. XI, 372, Vol. XII, iii, and 222, Vol. XIII, 102, 204, and 422; see also Vol. XIX, p. 151.

and liberal colonization law was also enacted. The colony of Austin, meanwhile, entered Texas in 1822 for Red river and passed to the Brasos, others settling on the western bank of the Colorado. Colonists came in flocks, suffering much at first on account of deficit provisions, and the attacks of the Indians. San Felix de Austin was laid out on the banks of the Brasos. Says Mr. Yoakum :

"Although Austin's powers were almost absolute, he governed with parental mildness. His soul was absorbed in the great business of the successful completion of his enterprise. He was esteemed by each colonist, not so much as a ruler, as a father and friend. By example and precept he inspired them with a love of order and industry. True, he was often annoyed by bad men, intruders in the colony; yet his forbearance, even in such cases, was great. When he found it necessary to use strong measures, and inflict wholesome lessons of punishment or restraint, he did it, but with regret." (Vol. I, p. 228.)

"These were rough times among the Texan pioneers. Yet they were engaged in a good work, and met and overcame difficulties with manly firmness. They had no other luxuries than such as were afforded in beholding the loveliest natural scenery, and in taking part in the stirring adventures of the chase. The common dress of the men and children was made of buckskin, and even the women were often obliged to wear a like dress. Rarely were they able to obtain from some strolling pedlar a piece of 'domestic,' or calico, at the high price of seventy-five cents per yard." Vol. I, p. 229.)

We pass over the unfortunate events which followed upon the attempt of Hayden Edwards to establish, under his grant, eight hundred families in Texas. The grant covered ground already occupied, which led to angry discussions, and finally to its repeal. Against this the colonists protested as an act of usurpation, and erected the standard of revolt. Thus as early as 1826 began to break out those disorders which eventuated in revolution and independence. "The colonists were invited to a country free, under the constitution of 1824, and they were determined to keep it free, not only from Indian cruelty, but Mexican tyranny."

In Austin's grant things went on more harmoniously. De Witt's settlement began, and that also of Martin De Lon, at Victoria. Burnet received a grant which covered some part of that which had been Edwards'. A constitution was about the same time adopted for Texas and Coahuila, but the Texans continued to keep aloof from Mexican politics, mixed little with the other race, and adhered to their hereditary religion, morals, and politics. Affairs in the central States between the monarchists and republicans continued unsettled. Mr. Poinsett, the American Minister, incensed the former very greatly by some exhibitions of sympathy with their opponents, and by installing Masonic lodges under other rituals than those in ordinary use. Texas, also, continued very poor, though during 1827 and 1828 new immigrants crowded in, laying off the town of Gonzales. Indian troubles intervened, and companies were raised to keep them in check.

Congress met and prohibited debts which antedated the colonists arrival from being collected during twelve years, and protected his lands forever against such debts. It also regulated peonage, secured the wages of the peon, and provided for his punishment, which should embrace confinement and shackles, but not extend to the whip. This last restriction was, however, repealed. Masters were freed from the responsibility of burying their servants who died in their debt. None of these laws extended to the slavery which existed among the Americans, which was otherwise regulated, and the constitution and decrees aimed with little effect at its extinction. Another revolution followed upon the close of President Victoria's term, and the United States began to make some endeavors to recover by treaty its boundary of the Rio Grande, which had been lost by the bad management of Mr. Adams. The colony at Goliad was formed in 1829, and also colonies on the Texan side of Red river. Education and religion were at a low ebb. A Mexican decree abolished slavery in the Republic, but was modified in its application to Texas. The Mexicans, for their purposes, preferred peonage, believing it to be more profitable, as the employers under it were without the necessity of supporting the peon. Bustamante, succeeding to the Presidency, enforced the slave decrees, and forbid further colonists from the United States. This unwise policy, interfering with vested rights, excited revolutionary feelings in every quarter. The rights of religion were also interfered with, martial law attempted, arrests and imprisonments made, and property taken without consent or consideration. These were some of the grievances of which before 1830 the Texan colonists complained. "It was not," says the historian, "the entertainment to which they had been invited."

Meanwhile the tyrannies and usurpations of Bustamante had terminated in a revolt, instigated and led by Santa Anna, in whose success all Texas sympathized. Finding himself deserted by his followers, and pressed by the revolutionists, Bustamante resigned authority and fled from Mexico. Immigrants continued to arrive in Texas, disregarding the decrees of extinction, and great apprehensions were felt in Mexico that the United States would, in some manner, set up and support a claim to the territory.* Hence the rapid introduction

* Mr. Poinsett had been instructed to offer \$4,000,000 for the boundary of the Rio Grande, and a proportionate sum for the Lavaca, Colorado, or Brazos. In the despatch of Mr. Clay, in 1825, it was said: "The line of the Sabine approaches our great western mart nearer than could be wished. Perhaps the Mexican government may not be unwilling to establish that of the Rio Brasos de Dios, or the Rio Colorado, or the Snow mountains, or the Rio del Norte, in lieu of it.

"Among the reasons assigned by Mr. Clay for making the purchase are the

of troops, the interference with land titles, the imposition of taxes, the prohibition of merchandize, etc. A meeting of citizens, held at Brazoria, in consequence of these matters, determined upon resistance, at least, to the decree closing the ports. Soon after, Colonel Johnson, at the head of sixty Texans, demanded the release of prisoners from Fort Anahuac. Captain John Austin took Fort Velasco after a signal victory, whilst at Nacogdoches, under Bullock, the Texans fought with gallantry, intent upon compelling the Mexican forces to declare for the Constitution of 1824, and the plan of Vera Cruz. A general rising of the Texans was stopped by the intelligence that the State of Coahuila and Texas had come into this plan, whereupon all the towns submitted, and the people returned to their homes. Texas had been divided into two districts, the line of separation being the dividing ridge between the Trinity and the Brazos, the eastern having Nacogdoches, and the western (San Antonio) Bexar as its seat of political power.

Emboldened by their successes, won with the aid and countenance of powerful Mexican factions, and convinced that the union with Coahuila was at the bottom of much of their troubles, the Texans felt convinced that the time had arrived for the establishment of a separate State, which they claimed as a right under the Federal Constitution of 1824. A convention for this purpose met at San Felipe, in October, 1832, and afterwards, with a fuller representation, in April, 1833. Among the delegates, were Archer, Austin, Burnet Austin, Sam Houston, Miller, and Wharton; the last of whom was elected President of the Convention*; a committee was appointed to carry up the constitution and the memorial to the supreme central government, but disturbances which prevailed

following: "The great extent and the facility which appears to have attended the procurement of grants from the government of the United Mexican States, for large tracts of country to citizens of the United States, in the province of Texas, authorize the belief that but little value is placed upon the possession of the province by that government. These grants seem to have been made without any sort of equivalent, judging according to our opinions of the value of land. They have been made to, and apparently in contemplation of being settled by, citizens from the United States. These emigrants will carry with them our principles of law, liberty, and religion; and, however much it may be hoped they might be disposed to amalgamate with the ancient inhabitants of Mexico, so far as political freedom is concerned, it would be almost too much to expect that all collisions would be avoided on other subjects. Already some of these collisions have manifested themselves, and others, in the progress of time, may be anticipated with confidence. These collisions may insensibly enlist the sympathies and feelings of the two republics, and lead to misunderstandings." (Vol. I, p. 277.)

* In 1850 nine-tenths of the Americans in Texas not born there were born in the slave States of the Union, only one-twentieth were born in the Northern States, and one-tenth in the Northern and North-western. Of the sixty who signed the Texan Declaration of Independence, 48 were from the Southern slaveholding States, and but 5 from the free States.

there, prevented for a long time a hearing to Austin, the only one of the committee, who repaired to Mexico. Baffled in this way, Austin wrote to the municipality of Bexar, recommending that all of the municipalities should unite in organizing a State, and by union and harmony, prepare for a refusal of their application by the supreme government. For this action the empessario was arrested, and subjected to a close and protracted imprisonment. Relieved at last, he received from Santa Anna the ultimatum, which was favorable in some respects to Texas, but which peremptorily denied the privilege of separation from Coahuila. At this time, 1834, Almonte returned to Mexico from Texas, and made a report attributing its rapid advances to industry and the absence of civil strife. He estimated the population at 21,000 souls, though there were, perhaps, 30,000; and the negroes at 1,100, though it was believed they numbered 3,000. The whole foreign trade of Texas he estimated at \$1,680,000.

Santa Anna assumed supreme power, trampling under foot the Constitution of Mexico, and putting to death all who opposed his infamous purposes. The power of the National Congress was thenceforward to be unlimited, or whatever might be the wish of the dictator. Texas was to be overrun by troops, custom-houses established, emigrants since 1830 driven away, and all proscribed persons arrested and tried. The slaves, too, were to be freed and raised to the class of citizens! Even the corrupt and effete legislature which regulated the affairs of Coahuila and Texas, warned the central power that reforming would be dangerous in this quarter, seeing that it bordered on a flourishing sister republic, and was settled by those with whom such changes would never accord. For this offence Gen. Cos was ordered to disperse the body at Monteclova, but instead of preparing to defend itself and the country, this imbecile body occupied its last days in making large grants of land, and sustaining invalid land titles. *Thus Texas was without a Government, and must either establish one for herself or submit to the tyranny of Santa Anna.* Committees of safety were at once formed in all the municipalities, and Commissioners were sent to Gen. Cos, then on his march to Texas, who demanded as the only condition of peace that Zavala, Johnson, Williamson, Travis, and others, should be given up to him. The Commissioners had no power in the premises, and their mission expired. In July and August over 1,500 Mexican troops were within Texas, or on the march towards it. A large public meeting was held at San Augustine. A series of resolutions declared—

“Their adherence to the *Acta Constitutiva*, and the Constitution of 1824; that the arrest of Governor Viesca and the members of the legislature, and the in-

tended introduction of an army into Texas, were evidences of tyranny, dangerous to liberty, and a violation of the terms on which the colonists had been invited hither; and that there was no legitimate head to the state government, the governor being imprisoned, and a creature of Santa Anna's being placed in his stead—in the exercise of powers unknown to the constitution. The resolutions further provided for negotiations with the Indian tribes, for raising and organizing the militia, and for appointing a committee of safety. They also declared that those who should fly the country should forfeit their lands." (Vol. I, pp. 350, 351.)

A revolution had indeed commenced, which was to be conducted with such success to the arms of Texas, and eventuate in her liberty as a republic, and afterwards, a State of the American Union. The news of an affair at Gonzales about the possession of a cannon, spread far and wide, and a company was raised at San Augustine, in which were enrolled Houston, Rusk, and Johnson. In every direction circulars were dispatched, proposing to take Bexar and drive the Mexican soldiers out of Texas. San Felipe was adopted as the centre of action, and Stephen Austin, by general consent, looked up to for orders and advice. The Mexicans being on the march from Bexar to Gonzales, volunteers hastened in that direction; and on the 11th October, Stephen Austin was elected commander-in-chief of the Texan forces. A march was at once determined on against Bexar, and also, the capture of Goliad, which last was effected by a few of the planters of Caney and Matagorda, and brought military stores to the value of many thousand dollars, large supplies of arms, some artillery and interrupted the Mexican communication between Bexar and the Gulf which was never again restored. The general consultation, consisting of 32 members, met at San Felipe, but the civil government of the State was in the hands of the central council, consisting of one member from each of the committees of safety. The battle of Concepcion was a brilliant victory won by Fannin and Bowie, with the loss of but one man, the Mexicans having sixty killed and as many wounded. Says Mr. Yoakum:

"The Texan government—that is, the council—had much to do. The correspondence was immense; the authority of the councillors limited by the precarious tenure of their offices. But they had willing co-operators. The union was complete. With their slender resources they managed to send a weekly mail through Texas to Fort Jesup, thus keeping up a regular communication with the United States. Messrs. Baker and Borden had established a printing-press at San Felipe, which sent out the weekly 'Telegraph,' and *extras* without number. The people of eastern Texas were also about establishing, at Nacogdoches, 'The Emigrant's Guide.' Thus the elements of civilization and progress were mingling with the ravages of war.

"During the brief existence of the council, that body appointed Sims Hall army-contractor; it sent an able address to the people of the United States; it appointed T. F. McKinney an agent to contract a loan at New Orleans of a hundred thousand dollars; it granted to several persons letters of reprisal." (Vol. I, pp. 378, 379.)

A new consultation assembled on the first of November, 1835, at San Felipe, consisting of fifty-five members, and committees were appointed to make declaration of the causes which impelled the taking up arms, and also to submit a plan of provisional government. The declaration, which immediately followed, was not of independence, but simply of adherence to the Constitution of 1824, though, without doubt, independence was in the minds of all. The Provisional Government consisted of a Governor, Lient. Governor, a Council of one from each municipality, a provisional Judiciary, and a Commander-in-Chief. Henry Smith was elected Governor, and Sam Houston Commander-in-Chief; Archer, Austin, and Wharton, Commissioners to the United States. Assistance in men and money flowed liberally in from New Orleans, Mobile, etc. Gov. Smith sent in a message to the Council recommending military preparation, the granting of letters of marque, the blockade by foreign aid of the Mexican ports, the equipment of a corps of rangers, the appointment of foreign agents, tariff, and other revenue and postage matters, etc. Meanwhile, the army had won a glorious victory over Gen. Cos at San Antonio de Bexar, investing the town, and afterwards carrying it by regular storm, fighting from street to street and house to house. Col. Milam, who volunteered the assault, was killed, and the command thereupon devolved upon Frank Johnson. Burleson, who had the general direction of the forces, received the flag of capitulation, permitted Cos and his officers on their parole of honor to retire from Texas, taking also their soldiers beyond the Rio Grande. The parole excluded them from taking up arms in the future against the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1824.

Angry quarrels now occurred between the Government and the Council, bringing scandal upon the cause, and paralyzing for a long time all military movements. The Council seemed disposed to supersede Houston, or at least to set up Fannin and Johnson, with equal and independent powers. Great diversity of opinion began also to prevail in regard to the propriety of a march upon Matamoras, and an attempt to stir up the neighboring provinces of Mexico against the Central power. Events, however, proved that no co-operation whatever could be expected from that quarter. Santa Anna, with Urrea, Cos, Sesma, Wool, etc., and an army 6,000 strong, occupied the Rio Grande, and such was the paralysis upon the Texans that scarcely any steps were taken for their reception. Past successes had emboldened the minds of the people, aided by exaggerated reports of the number of volunteers from the States, who had repaired to their standards. Exhaustion from the toils of the previous year, and the dissensions between the

Governor and Council were also producing their effects. Santa Anna presented to the Mexican Congress the course to be pursued towards Texas after her conquest, so certain to him seemed at this time the event.

"His plan was as follows: to drive from the province all who had taken part in the revolution, together with all foreigners who lived near the seacoast or the borders of the United States: to remove far into the interior those who had not taken part in the war; to vacate all sales and grants of land owned by non-residents; to remove from Texas all who had come to the province, and were not entered as colonists under Mexican rules; to divide among the officers and soldiers of the Mexican army the best lands, provided they would occupy them; to permit no Anglo-American to settle in Texas; to sell the remaining vacant lands at one dollar per acre—allowing the French to buy only five millions of acres, the English the same, the Germans somewhat more, and to those speaking the Spanish language without limit; to satisfy the claims of the civilized Indians; to make the Texans pay the expenses of the war; and to liberate and declare free the negroes introduced into the province." (Vol. II, p. 65.)

A convention of the people of Texas met on the 1st March, 1836, at Washington, on the Brasos, and declared her a free, sovereign, and independent republic, provided for the enrollment of an army, of which Houston was appointed Commander-in-chief, adopted a republican constitution, and elected a provisional government, of which David G. Burnet was made the President, and Thomas J. Rusk, Secretary of War. The enemy concentrated upon Bexar and Goliad. The Texans at Bexar retired to the Alamo, where under Travis, Bowie, and Crockett, one hundred and eighty men resisted a siege for thirteen days, which was conducted by several thousand Mexicans under Santa Anna. A more glorious struggle has, perhaps, never been recorded in ancient or modern times. The little garrison, overwhelmed by the number of the assailants, perished to a man, whilst fighting in the last ditch. The leaders fell with piles of the enemy's slain around them, excepting Bowie, who was murdered on a sick bed. No quarters were allowed. We quote from Yoakum:*

* The address of Travis, to the Texans in this emergency, is worthy of Leonidas:

"COMMANDANCY OF THE ALAMO, BEXAR, February 24, 1836."

"FELLOW-CITIZENS AND COMPATRIOTS: I am besieged by a thousand or more of the Mexicans under Santa Anna. I have sustained a continued bombardment for twenty-four hours, and have not lost a man. The enemy have demanded a surrender at discretion; otherwise the garrison is to be put to the sword, if the place is taken. I have answered the summons with a cannon-shot, and our flag still waves proudly from the walls. *I shall never surrender or retreat.* Then I call on you in the name of liberty, of patriotism, and of everything dear to the American character, to come to our aid with all despatch. The enemy are receiving reinforcements daily, and will no doubt increase to three or four thousand in four or five days. Though this call may be neglected, I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible, and die like a soldier who never forgets what is due to his own honor and that of his country. Victory or death!

"W. BARRETT TRAVIS, Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding."

"Thus fell the Alamo and its heroic defenders; but before them lay the bodies of five hundred and twenty-one of the enemy, with a like number wounded. At an hour by sun, on that Sabbath morning, all was still; yet the crimson waters of the aqueduct around the fort resembled the red flag on the church at Bexar! The defenders of Texas did not retreat, but lay there in obedience to the command of their country; and in that obedience the world has witnessed among men no greater moral sublimity." (Vol. II, p. 81.)

The fall of the Alamo was but the fearful complement of another bloody and infamous tragedy enacted by the Mexicans, which aroused against them the sympathies and the abhorrence of the civilized world. The battle of Coleta had left Fannin undisputed victor, after a contest attended with great slaughter, between 275 Texans against 1,800 Mexicans under Urrea. The enemy, soon after, being largely reinforced, renewed the fight. A capitulation was the result, which stipulated, in the most solemn manner, in favor of the prisoners, that the uses of civilized warfare should be observed—that the officers should wear their side-arms, and be parolled and returned to the United States, and that the soldiers should at once be sent in the same direction. Notwithstanding this sacred treaty, an order was received from Santa Anna, and immediately executed, requiring the prisoners to be taken out and shot. Death, marked with the utmost cruelty and brutality, was therefore inflicted at Goliad upon 330 out of 445 prisoners. The men were marched out in separate divisions, under different pretexts, and without any apprehensions of their impending fate. The wounded were dragged out and butchered. Fannin died last. He seated himself on a chair, tied the handkerchief over his eyes, and bared his bosom to receive the fire. Many young men shouted "huzzas for Texas," and flourished their caps as they received their fate. Young Fenner rose on his feet and exclaimed—"boys, they are going to kill us, die with your faces to them like men." We quote again from Yoakum:

"The 'public vengeance' of the Mexican tyrant, however, was satisfied. Deliberately and in cold blood he had caused three hundred and thirty of the sternest friends of Texas—her friends while living and dying—to tread the winepress for her redemption. He chose the Lord's day for this sacrifice. It was accepted; and God waited his own good time for retribution—a retribution which brought Santa Anna a trembling coward to the feet of the Texan victors, whose magnanimity prolonged his miserable life to waste the land of his birth with anarchy and civil war!" (Vol. II, p. 101.)

The panic which ensued upon the news of these bloody events extended to all classes, and the instincts of self-preservation produced one general flight. Men, women, and children, and servants in wild disorder, alone, or carrying with them their goods and stock, depopulated the more exposed settlements, and escaped towards the Colorado or the Sabine. It was believed that promiscuous slaughter awaited all. The

militia and volunteers were paralyzed in their anxiety for the safety of their families, and for a time it seemed as if the fate of Texas was fixed. President Burnet issued an appeal to the people, urging them to disregard all idle rumors, and to remain at their homes, in order that others might repair to the standard of their country. The Secretary of War, Col. Rusk, advanced to the field of action in person, after using the most herculean efforts to obtain and furnish the necessary supplies.

The Texan army, under Houston, during this time, had fallen back upon the Colorado, and afterwards upon the Brazos, which latter stream being crossed, they formed an encampment near the banks of the San Jacinto, the enemy fortifying themselves about three-quarters of a mile distant. A council of war was held to determine if the enemy should be attacked in his position, or if an attack should be awaited from him. General Houston decided upon the former course against the wishes of the majority of the officers. It was three o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st April when the Texans formed the order of battle, which they could do without observation. The Mexicans were dull and weary, many of the leaders, and even the chief, Santa Anna, being asleep, after the fatigues of the march, and in a condition readily to be surprised. The Texan cavalry advanced with rapidity, the artillery opened suddenly its fires, and the whole line precipitated itself upon the foe with cries of "remember the Alamo"—"remember Goliad!" There was no pause in these dreadful advances, and the enemy were speedily paralyzed with fear. In fifteen minutes after the first charge they were seen to give way precipitately at all points, and the pursuit became general, which was arrested only by the appearance of night.

Thus was fought the famous battle of San Jacinto, which may almost be said to have decided the fate of Texas, and which crowned with such well-earned laurels, Houston, Rusk, Lamar, Burelson, Sherman, Somervell, Millard, and others of the noble little army. In particular it established the reputation of Houston, which, it would seem, there had been causes at work calculated to affect.

The Texans had in the field 783 men; the force of the enemy was between 1,400 and 1,500; but whilst only eight Texans were killed and five wounded, the enemy had 630 killed, 208 wounded, and 730 made prisoners! Santa Anna himself was taken on the following morning, disguised as a countryman, and concealed in the grass. He was treated much better than he had any right to expect, but was required to issue orders directing Filisola to withdraw towards the Rio Grande, the forces of Ganona and Urrea. This he did readily upon the allegation of his defeat and of an armistice with the prospect

of peace. The dictator then entered into two treaties, providing for the cessation of hostilities, the retirement of his forces beyond the Rio Grande, and the protection or restitution of property. A secret treaty at the same time bound him to prepare matters in Mexico for the entire independence of Texas. In consequence of Houston's having received a wound which sent him to New Orleans for treatment, Gen. Rusk succeeded to the command of the army and Lamar was made Secretary of War. The greatest enthusiasm in Texas and throughout the United States followed upon these brilliant successes.

News of the defeat of Santa Anna having extended to the other divisions of his army, a hurried retreat commenced towards the Guadalupe, and eventually the Rio Grande. The reinforcements which were promised from Mexico did not arrive, and General Gaines in command of the forces of the United States which had been ordered to the Sabine, occupied Nacogdoches, as it was claimed under the treaty between the United States and Mexico, which bound the parties mutually to restrain by force, all Indian hostilities against the white settlers. Mexico, it was known, was inciting the Indians to hostility. This occupation caused the withdrawal of the Mexican Minister from Washington, and soon after, Mr. Ellis, the American Minister in Mexico, having failed to procure a satisfactory adjustment of long standing claims, demanded and received his passports. Within four months the United States had recognized the independence of Texas, given audience to its Ministers, and appointed Alcee Labranche Chargé d'Affaires to that Republic. The question of annexation was received unfavorably in the existing relations, but left as an open one with the American people.

President Burnet on attempting in good faith under the armistice to allow Santa Anna a free return to Mexico, was resisted by the army and the people, who seemed disposed to place him before a court-martial, and in retaliation for his many crimes, inflict upon him the punishment of death. From this fate he was in all probability saved by the powerful appeals of General Houston and General Jackson, upon the grounds of humanity as well as of sound policy. After still further imprisonment he was sent to the United States under charge of several officers of the army, who conducted him to Washington City, whence, after receiving many kindnesses, he embarked by the way of Norfolk on a public vessel for Vera Cruz.

The reception of Santa Anna in Mexico was without enthusiasm. The power of the dictator had departed. He had been publicly attacked and denounced there as a monster of

iniquity; and in one pamphlet it was said: "If it were possible to pile one upon the other the bodies of the dead, whose untimely end has been promoted by General Santa Anna, they would doubtless form a mountain higher than that of Popocatepetl! and we would say to his flatterers, '*Behold a monument erected to humanity and the protector of religion!*'"

The Texas army now numbered in force 2,300 men, but inactivity and dissention soon reduced it to half that number. Lamar had been appointed commander-in-chief, which was very distasteful to the soldiers, who seemed to see in this movement a disposition to supersede the claims of Houston and Rusk. It was alledged by Lamar, however, that Houston had forfeited his claim by leaving for New Orleans without furlough, and that Rusk, himself, had asked for the appointment of a major-general. To this Gen. Rusk replied that he had at that time expected to visit his family, but the enemy being now looked for in force, it would be disgraceful to abandon his post and his letters under such different circumstances, were but a flimsy pretext for the appointment. Finding the opposition which was respectful to him in person, not likely to be appeased, Gen. Lamar handsomely withdrew. The account of these proceedings is from Gen. Felix Houston who had but lately reached the army with his command. This gentleman, on the appointment of Rusk to the Cabinet, became for a time, commander-in-chief; the Congress, by joint resolution having offered the post to Gen. James Hamilton, of South Carolina, who was compelled on account of domestic matters to decline.

A general election resulted in the adoption of the new constitution. General Houston was elected President, and Mirabeau Lamar, Vice President, over Stephen Austin and Henry Smith. The first Congress assembled on the 22d October, 1836, adopting many wise and salutary measures with great unanimity and spirit. The population of the Republic was thus estimated:

Anglo-Americans.....	30,000
Mexicans.....	3,470
Indians.....	14,200
Negroes.....	5,000
Aggregate.....	52,670

Says Mr. Yoakum:

"The president's house was a log-cabin, consisting of two rooms or pens—the one having a puncheon-floor, and the other a floor of earth. Yet in that humble dwelling the representatives of the republic and a large number of visitors, among whom were the British agent Crawford, sent to look at the country, and the distinguished Audubon, attended the *levées*." (Vol. II, p. 214.)

During the latter months of 1837 heavy emigration poured into Texas, consisting of substantial farmers, with abundant means. The Mexicans were beyond the Nueces. Treasury notes had given relief to the national finances. Commerce increased the import duties. The value of lands improved, and the cotton crop alone was estimated at \$2,000,000. Galveston began to exhibit much life and activity in the arrival of vessels and departure of steamers to the interior. In the first quarter of 1838 her imports reached over a quarter of a million of dollars. The Potomac was the only naval vessel afloat, but the French fleet on the coast gave sufficient employment to the vessels of the enemy, and left those of Texas undisturbed. Near the close of the year the navy was augmented and established by the purchase in Baltimore of one ship, two brigs, and three schooners, all fully armed and furnished. Some Indian hostilities, which were chastised by General Rusk, near the Trinity, alone disturbed the reign of order in Texas. Mirabeau Lamar was elected second President, and David G. Burnet, Vice President.

Indian hostilities began now to be renewed with great ferocity, induced by the action of the Mexicans, as well as by the often mistaken policy of the Texans themselves. In these contests many brilliant victories were won. Rusk, Burleson, and McCulloch covered themselves with imperishable honors. In a great battle near the Neches the Indians were signally defeated with the loss of their distinguished chief Bowles, who had been the cause of much of the mischief.

The federal party seeming to be in power in Mexico, Barnard Bee was sent thither with the view of negotiating a treaty of peace and independence. The movement was unsuccessful, and the Texan Minister at Washington, in pressing the matter upon Senor Martinez, spoke of extending the western boundary of Texas to the Pacific, so as to include the fine harbor of San Francisco. The federal Mexican republican party, under Canales, with about one hundred and fifty Texans, set up the "Republic of the Rio Grande," crossed its stream and carried the war into the adjoining Mexican provinces. Betrayed by the Mexican allies, the handful of Texans achieved a signal victory over many times their number in front of Saltillo.

Commercial treaties were about this time formed with both England and France through the exertions of the Commissioner, Henderson, and on the 25th September, 1839, the independence of the Republic was finally acknowledged by France. A loan of \$280,000 was offered from the United States Bank, but nothing could prevent the rapid depreciation of the paper issues of the State, which, in 1840, were worth

but fourteen cents on the dollar. General Hamilton was despatched to Europe for the purpose of negotiating a loan of \$5,000,000, and for other purposes. To his active exertions Texas owes it, in great part, that her independence was immediately after recognized by England, Holland, and Belgium.

"To the friends of Texas it was gratifying to see the growth of her commerce, and the interest felt therein by foreign nations. During the first quarter of 1840, ninety-two vessels arrived at the port of Galveston. There was a corresponding increase of arrivals at Velasco, Matagorda, and other points. Many of these vessels were from Europe, and brought merchandize to exchange for cotton. This increase of trade, though rapid, was natural, and did not exceed the increase of population induced by a constant stream of immigration. The town of Houston, situated at the head of Buffalo bayou, a river navigable at all times, had already become the centre of a considerable trade with the interior. This trade had extended up the Brasos, the Trinity, and even the Colorado; for it was found to be a cheap market for purchases, and transportation thence to the state capital was not higher than from Linnville. An extensive and quite an increasing trade was carried on through the outlet of Red river; and this traffic was the more profitable, because the importers were not so particular about paying the duties." (Vol. II, pp. 311, 312.)

General Hamilton having the proposal of the bankers Lafitte & Co., of Paris, and the promised aid and protection of the French Government, considered a loan of \$7,000,000 as already effected, and so wrote to New York; but in this he was destined to grievous disappointment, as the Government favor, on account of some diplomatic misunderstanding, was withdrawn. A National Bank, with large capital, was to have been a part of the operation, of which Mr. Jaudon, late agent of the United States Bank, was to be the President. Baffled in France, the indefatigable and able negotiator repaired to Belgium, where a quasi agreement was formed for the loan, on terms which the Texan Congress, however, did not accept, it having previously repealed all laws authorising the particular loan. Had the money been received it is difficult to imagine what would have been the result. Mr. Yoakum thinks that Mexico would have been invaded by an army of at least ten thousand men, thus anticipating the necessity afterwards forced upon the United States. Certain it is that President Burnet had declared Texas proper as "bounded by the Rio Grande, Texas as delivered by the sword, may comprehend the Sierra del Madre," and the Texan Congress afterwards extended the boundaries of the Republic (vetoed by Houston) so as to include New Mexico, Sonora, Chihuahua, both of the Californias, etc., embracing two millions of inhabitants, and two-thirds of the Mexican territory.

It was about this time that the famous Santa Fé expedition was fitted out, commanded by General McLeod, with whom were about 350 persons, including 270 volunteers doing duty. Its object was to endeavor to prevail upon the people of New Mexico to submit peaceably, to incorporate with those of

Texas, and acknowledge the authority of that State. The expedition, it was said, had been invited by citizens, and the commander was forbidden to exercise any coercion or violence should the New Mexicans be unwilling to change their political relations. The men were armed to defend themselves, and the articles of traffic they carried against the savages on the route. After great hardships of every sort, the whole force, betrayed and deceived, surrendered itself without a blow to the forces which were brought to meet them, embracing almost the entire population of the country. The captives were, with great indignities and much suffering, marched away towards the Central States, and were only released at last after the most active exertions of the Government, aided and strengthened by that of the United States. General Waddy Thompson was dispatched to Mexico with instructions from Mr. Webster to demand, unconditionally, the release of such as were American citizens, and also that the Texans should be treated with humanity.

Gen. Houston was again elected President of the republic, and the application was renewed for annexation which had been withdrawn during Mr. Van Buren's administration. The correspondence on the subject between Mr. Forsyth and Memucan Hunt, will be remembered. Mr. Tyler was found to be favorable.

"Since the battle of San Jacinto, the annexation of Texas had been more or less discussed by the people and press of the United States, and all men of discernment saw that it must take place, and that its consummation was only a question of time. The vast emigration to Texas, following the achievement of her independence, excited and hurried on this feeling in the popular mind. Mr. Tyler saw it, and had too much penetration, and was too much in need of friends, to permit the performance of an act so glorious to pass into other hands. He spoke freely to the Texan minister on the subject. 'I am anxious for it,' said he, 'and wish most sincerely I could conclude it at once.' 'The president would act in a moment,' wrote Mr. Reilly, 'if the senate would assent.' But, as matters then stood, it was deemed best to mediate with Mexico. Accordingly, instructions were sent out to Waddy Thompson to use his best efforts to bring about a peace between Texas and Mexico." (Vol. II, p. 347.)

Santa Anna again at the head of affairs in Mexico, seeing the progress made towards the annexation of Texas, determined to remove the chief pretext, which was, that the war had been terminated. An invading army was therefore dispatched to the line, which was met on the part of the Texans by the embodiment of a force of 3,500 men. The troops were intensely anxious for the invasion of Mexico, and were only prevented by the order of President Houston. Said Gen. Burleson, the Vice President, "I feel no hesitation in believing that if my orders had authorized me to cross the Rio Grande, by this time five thousand more men would have been west of said river inflicting a chastisement, which would result in an

honorable peace." President Houston however thought otherwise, and vetoed the resolutions of Congress, providing for an active invasion of Mexico. A portion of the troops strayed off from General Somervell's command, against orders, descended the Rio Grande, and made an attack upon Meir, on the opposite bank. After heroic efforts, they were induced to capitulate, and the prisoners, after being decimated, were marched to the city of Mexico, and sharing the customary cruelties and privations. Thus had Santa Anna violated his solemn pledges, reviving at the same time the inhuman policy of the earlier campaigns. He found occasion not long after, it seems, to grow very virtuous and indignant over a proposition made to him by Gen. Hamilton, provoking a withering reply from that gentleman, and an exposé from President Houston, which created a wide impression at home and abroad. Mr. Yoakum, in regard to the course of Gen. Somervell, refers to a letter of Memucan Hunt, who was present at the time. General Somervell did good service to Texas in the field, and in the council, and was an estimable citizen.

Commodore Moore being at New Orleans with the Navy of Texas, for the purpose of making repairs and refitting, some anxiety was manifested by the Government on account of the delay, and he was ordered home to make explanation. A secret act of Congress, at the same time, authorized the sale of the vessels, and Commissioners were appointed to conduct the matter. To these movements the Commodore objected, and seemed inclined to hold the vessels, under a certain construction of his rights. It was his intention to go in pursuit of the Mexican fleet immediately, blockade the whole coast, and levy contribution to the extent of near a million of dollars, half of which would be for the benefit of the treasury of Texas. A proclamation from President Houston gave notice of the suspension of Moore, disallowed his acts, and requested all nations, in amity with Texas, to seize and bring in the vessels to the port of Galveston. The Commissioners, however, proved as refractory as the Commodore, and the vessels entered immediately upon a successful cruise, winning some gallant rewards.

"In the meantime, the president, finding that his commissioners as well as Captain Moore had disobeyed his orders, and that one of them had actually gone out with the navy, and was advising and directing its operations—and that new arrangements had been entered into with Yucatan, without his orders—and also ascertaining that his proclamation had been disregarded, and not published—took immediate steps to publish it himself. It reached the public eye, and in due time the coast of Yucatan, and brought the wandering commissioner and captain in command of the navy to the port of Galveston, where they arrived in July." (Vol. II, p. 383.)

An act for the protection of the western frontier was passed by a two-thirds vote over the veto of President Houston, and

General Rusk was *elected* to the high office of Major-General, created by the act.

Meanwhile a joint mediation between Texas and Mexico was solicited by the Government from the three great powers of Britain, France, and the United States; but the former was so intent upon her selfish ends of excluding slavery, and thus interposing a barrier to the growth of the United States, that she preferred a separate mediation. Lord Aberdeen said that such a course would be better on all accounts, and Mr. Webster declared that, unless Mexico in a short time made peace with Texas, or showed a disposition and an ability to prosecute the war with a respectable force, the United States would remonstrate in a more formal manner. Santa Anna began himself to advance some propositions of peace, making use at first of one of the Mier prisoners, and afterwards of the British Charge, Mr. Doyle, and Mr. Elliott, the representative of the same court in Texas. It is at this point Gen. Houston began those singular diplomatic manœuvres, which seemed to have for their object the establishment of British influence in Texas, but which he afterwards explained as simply coquetting in order to obtain the most favorable terms from the United States, with whom the people sincerely desired amalgamation. Every one will recollect the passings and repassings of the agent, and of the English war vessel between Galveston and Vera Cruz. Much anxiety and ill-feelings was of consequence engendered in the United States. "Texas saw the feeling of jealousy (we are using the words of Mr. Yoakum) between the United States and Great Britain, and *took no pains* to dissipate it. She saw that the contest was for the mastery of the Gulf of Mexico—involving the Monroe doctrine; and that, in the final issue, she had in her own hands the disposal of this great inland sea, with all its potent commercial and maritime influences."

Commissioners were soon after appointed to meet those sent by Santa Anna on or near the Rio Grande, to agree upon an armistice during the negotiations for peace, which were about to open. The Commissioners were also to stipulate for the appointment of others who should meet in the city of Mexico for the establishment of permanent peace.

At this moment the annual message of Mr. Tyler appeared, which carried with it the liveliest hopes to the people of Texas, and at the same time struck with apprehensions the representatives of France and England. He said that "the Creator of the universe had given man the earth for his resting-place, and its fruits for his subsistence. Whatever, therefore, should make the first, or any part of it, a scene of desolation, affected injuriously his heritage, and might be regarded as a general

calamity. Wars might sometimes be necessary, but all nations had a common interest in bringing them speedily to a close."

We copy from Mr. Yoakum the following passage, which gives some interesting particulars in regard to the inception and progress of the idea of annexation:

"To return to the causes that disturbed the negotiations for an armistice. It is scarcely necessary to inquire who first proposed the question of annexation. We have already seen that it was predicted in general terms by the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, immediately after the American Revolution; and that it was alluded to more definitely by Captain Pike, in 1806; also that it was named by General Houston, directly after the battle of San Jacinto, and formally presented by the government of Texas, in 1837. Afterward, in 1842, it was officially intimated as a question having vitality. But on the 6th of July, 1843, the subject was suspended by order of the Texan government. On the 18th of September following, that government was notified, through its *chargé d'affaires* at Washington, that Mr. Secretary Upshur brought up the subject in all his official interviews, stating that 'it was the great measure of the administration, and that he was actively engaged, under the instructions of President Tyler, in preparing the minds of the people for it, and in learning the views of Senators on the subject.' He further informed Mr. Van Zandt that President Tyler contemplated early action upon the subject; and requested Mr. Van Zandt to make the same known to his government, in order that, if Texas desired to treat on that subject, she might clothe her representative with suitable powers. On the 16th of October, Mr. Upshur made a formal proposition to treat on the question; and Mr. Van Zandt transmitted it to Texas, asking the advice of his government." (Vol. II, pp. 422, 423.)

The Texan Commissioners at Washington completed a treaty of annexation on the 12th April, 1854, which was signed by them and Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of State. This treaty was rejected in the Senate, much to the mortification of Texas and of the true friends of the measure, which embraced a large majority of the American people. The question at once entered into the platforms of the Presidential parties, then organizing, and was distinctly and unequivocally endorsed in the election of James K. Polk—the cry of Polk, Dallas, Texas, and Oregon, acting electrically with the masses. Anson Jones was elected President of Texas.

In this state of feeling in both countries little remained to be done. Joint resolutions of annexation were immediately offered in both branches of Congress, and passed by handsome majorities, receiving the official sanction of President Tyler.

We close our article in the language of Mr. Yoakum, which describes the progress made by all of these events in Texas:

"President Jones was inaugurated on the 9th day of December, 1844. Neither the president, nor the ninth Texan Congress, which adjourned its session on the 2d of February, 1845, said anything on the subject of annexation. Both parties probably believed it was in as good a condition as they could desire it. In the meantime, another change had occurred in Mexico, and General Herrera, who belonged to the federal and peace party, came to the presidency. He released Colonel Navarro, the only remaining Texan prisoner in the republic, and gave other indications of his desire for peace. At length, the Mexican Congress authorized Herrera to open negotiations and conclude a peace with Texas, on condition that she would not be annexed to the United States. This arrange-

ment was brought about through the agency of the British and French governments; and, on the 19th of May, the preliminary articles were signed by the Mexican government, transmitted through the French minister in Mexico to Captain Elliot, the British *chargé d'affaires* in Texas, and by him laid before the Texan government on the 2d day of June. On the 4th, President Jones presented these facts to the people by his proclamation, at the same time declaring a cessation of hostilities between the two countries. On the 15th of May previous, he had called a convention of sixty-one delegates, to meet on the 4th of July ensuing, to consider the propositions for annexation; also an extra session of the ninth Congress, to meet on the 16th of June, in order to give the consent of the republic to the anticipated convention. The Congress, by a joint resolution, approved June 23, 1845, gave its consent to the joint resolutions of the American Congress; also to the convention, as called by President Jones. The latter body assembled, ratified the act of annexation, formed a constitution as a State of the Union, and submitted the whole to the Texan people. It was approved by them; and the lone star of Texas, after a struggle of ten years, was gathered under the folds of the glorious banner of the Union." (Vol. II, pp. 443, 444.)

The length to which our remarks upon Texas have extended, precludes the insertion, in the present number, of some interesting and valuable material in relation to the steps which attended annexation, and to the character and services of many of the prominent men of that State. It will form the subject of a separate chapter in the October number of the Review.

THE RIGHT OF GOVERNMENTAL TOLERATION.

I have been induced to make the following observations from the perusal of the first article in the June number, 1857, of this Review. In that article the writer says—the article is headed "One of the Evils of the Times"—that religious toleration by civil laws is not inimical to the constitution of the Romish Church. His words are—"nay, more, under their united auspices was first announced, clearly and emphatically, the sublime creed of perfect religious toleration, untrammelled by the interference or control of government. The eminent glory due to the primary embodiment of *this great principle of freedom* unquestionably belongs to George Calvert, one of the Catholic founders of Maryland."—*Review*, p. 567.

The question that I wish to discuss, is, what is the character of "*this great principle of freedom*?" There are very few persons who take the trouble to probe this principle to its foundation.

Most men in this country say that civil or governmental toleration of *different forms* of worship is right, because the Constitution of the country so provides. But, then, no civil tribunal is *intrinsically* right, and it is therefore possible for the government to be wrong. Who knows?

There are very few persons in this country who do not admit that the Scripture has instituted a mode of worship, and that this mode, whatever it may be, is both infallibly right, and a unity in its operation.

It is impossible, philosophically, to discuss the right of government to sanction a multitude of modes of dissimilar character, without taking into the consideration the facts above stated.

Reasoning logically, we are compelled to infer, if the Scripture has indeed infallibly prescribed a particular mode, that all departures from that mode must be infallibly wrong; and hence, if government sanctions a multitude of modes of dissimilar character, it is logically compelled to sanction things that are infallibly wrong. This is the logical difficulty in the case, and we must meet it or deny the authority of reason. I do not wish it to be understood that I oppose the exercise of the legislative authority, by way, or religious toleration—I certainly approve it. But what I wish to say here is just this, that because any particular government may, by constitutional provision, allow an indiscriminate latitude of religious practices or modes of worship; that it does not, *therefore*, follow, that such legislative action is right, because a human legislature is quite as liable to act upon a mistaken principle as individuals.

What we are to seek for is a *rule of right*, existing in nature, in philosophy, in religion, or anywhere else, by which we are to *judge the civil tribunal*.

It becomes important for reasoning men, who regard the christian mode as only right, and hence, necessarily, that all departures from it only wrong, to give some satisfactory or consistent reason upon which the civil toleration of a multitude of dissimilar modes may be justified.

What I wish to ascertain, is, how honest and consistent persons, who conscientiously believe that there is but one right mode, whose observance can only answer the end sought by all, how they can justify the government under which they live, and for whose existence they are in a measure responsible, in sanctioning the most preposterous and glaring departures from it!

The reply is not difficult, in my judgment, but how few can consistently make it!

I wish to be distinctly understood on this subject. It is no part of my purpose to justify or condemn the Catholic Church, or any other. With particular churches I have now nothing to do. I am only inquiring into a principle. In this inquiry I may, I think, state what I take to be the position of the Catholic Church—a position, as I shall state it, which none of her advocates will, I am persuaded, gainsay or deny.

She holds that, with respect to the proper mode of religious worship, she is not liable to fall into any errors of faith—that she is protected from such lapses by the principle of infallibility inherent in her. Whether right or wrong this is her acknowledged position.

Now, consistently with this position, she is of *logical necessity*, forced to regard all protestant modes, *essentially different from hers*, as infallibly wrong. Hence, were she to applaud the civil ruler who gives sanction to *these modes*, she would be responsible for the ruin that would ensue, to the extent of her approval.

It is obvious that she is placed in a very painful attitude. She is compelled either to deny her own infallibility or to bear the reproach of sanctioning the civil ruler in a conduct that must, in her judgment, infallibly lead men to perdition. Her honesty and her humanity are both pledged against promoting an undue latitude of *dissimilar* modes.

Did she sanction them she would sanction the perdition that would, in her judgment, infallibly follow.

If, therefore, George Calvert, as a Catholic true to his faith, sanctioned protestants in their departures from the ritual of his church, or, if you please, the faith and practice of his church, he most unquestionably preferred some temporary advantage to the eternal well-being of the citizens of his province.

Is it not, therefore, a very poor compliment to his humanity, and a still poorer one to the honesty of his faith, in the religion he possessed, to attribute to *him* the *origin* and the *cause* of the heresies that prevailed (in Catholic eyes) in the dissimilar modes of protestant worship which his presumed initiation of toleration necessarily engendered. You cannot charge, upon a sincere Catholic a more grievous reproach than to say of him that he sanctions, by his conduct, the eternal perdition of his fellow-men, when he so sincerely thinks that the bosom of his church will save them all infallibly and finally. He is too humane a man to be guilty of such gross folly.

But I do not wish to discuss the Catholic, but Protestant position on this point. This, I think, I can do the more freely, because I am a protestant myself.

It is extremely important to know, philosophically, what protestantism really means, for it is, by no means, confined to religion.

There may be protestants in government, in morals, in philosophy, &c.

Evidently, then, protestantism means one thing, and the *right* of protestantism quite a different thing.

What I understand by protestantism is *any kind of protest against any kind of authority*. Were I to protest, for example, against the authority of Bacon, in philosophy, or that of Paley, in morals, I would, in each case, be properly a protestant, and would be right in it, just as it happened to turn out upon investigation that I had for my protest a *ground in reason to sustain me*. I regard the patriots of our Revolution as practical protestants against the authority of the British Government, and whether they were *right*, or not, depended upon the proper interpretation of *the rights of nature*, to which they appealed. Protestantism of itself, that is to say, aside from the ground of right or reason, is *prima facie* wrong, for all existing authority is to be considered *right* until the contrary be shown.

Now, if any authority be right, and have reason and truth to sustain it, all protestants against it are logically and unavoidably in the wrong.

A protestant in religion is one who says that the Scripture is the *rule of right* in matters of faith and practice. Whoever holds to this belief, and also thinks that all human beings are liable to err from it in the modes of adoration, is logically compelled to protest where any human authority in religion departs, in practice, from the practice of the rule.

But if a protestant were to refrain from crying out against any authority at issue with this rule, whether the authority or tribunal be civil or ecclesiastical, he would be a traitor to his allegiance to the authority of the rule.

A protestant is, therefore, one who cannot protest against the au-

thority of the *rule*, but who is logically compelled to protest against all *human authority* which departs, in any particular, from the rule.

Here is a wide distinction between protesting against the authority of the Scripture and the authority of *human* interpreters of it.

Now protestants hold that all men are fallible, whether they direct their attention to the rule in question, or to philosophy, morality, or politics. It is upon this principle that all reforms take place in government or in philosophy.

A protestant is one who says, that as long as we have an infallible rule, and no infallible interpreter of it, the *right of protestantism* must consist in conformity to the rule rather than in conformity to any interpreters of it.

This makes a protestant, uniformly and consistently, tolerant of human mistakes, whether they occur in interpretations of the rule in question, or in respect to the rights of nature or of philosophy.

All protestants meet upon a common platform, and that platform is, that the Scripture, as transmitted in writing, and committed to writing by infallible penmen, is the right rule of faith and practice in respect to the adoration of the Creator, and that all human beings are inherently of fallible judgment. Hence, all protestants are satisfied to leave, by constitutional provisions, the interpretation of the Scripture to the judgment of individuals, knowing, at the same time, that many will interpret it wrong.

But they consistently prefer this inconvenience from two considerations:

1st. From the fact that the earliest efforts to propagate this faith were directed to the attention of private persons occupying the private relations of life, rather than to any public judgment.

2d. From the fact, as they take it to be, that that inconvenience is not of so dangerous tendency as committing to any public tribunal the task of interpreting for individuals, as their final resort, with the power to enforce its decisions by pains and penalties.

There is less danger to social enjoyment to leave to *individuals* to settle their religious practices as they see proper, (the government in the meantime only conserving the public peace,) than to leave it to a *public* tribunal, for the one will produce much private collision of mind—much discussion—much social unkindness of a private nature—great variety of modes, but yet general progress: the other will produce, at the expense of the lives of the boldest and best thinkers, a dead calmness of opinion, with infinite dissimulation and hypocrisy, and no progress.

Hence, protestants, in their governmental opinions, are disposed to be tolerate, because they do not believe that any soul will be finally lost who sincerely makes the Scripture, in its faith and practice, the rule of his faith and practice to the best of his fallible judgment, however deplorably ignorant and superstitious he may be.

Protestants do not like protestantism merely for the sake of the social disorder it is inevitably calculated to produce, and ever has produced. They like it only as a choice of evils. They like it only because it is preferable to the other only possible alternative—that is, to

submit all matters of faith and practice to some fallible tribunal, with power to inflict pains and penalties, in order to prevent the exercise of private judgment, to which men of thought and education are so prone; they like it because, in the conflict of opinion, of argument, and of reason, the truth is evolved—that men, in such a strife, rise in the scale of being. In such a school they not only, as a general rule, (allowing of course for exceptions,) become wiser, but better men. They think that the more you investigate any doubtful truths, the more you disentangle them from error, the better they become generally understood and generally appreciated; that investigation is not intrinsically wrong, but only wrong when attended with unkindness, bitterness, or foul thoughts or language.

If the reader will turn his attention to the back numbers of this Review, he will find that I have justified the institution of domestic slavery upon precisely the same ground upon which, in this essay, I defend protestantism, viz: that it is a choice of evils.

I regard protestantism and slavery both as a choice of evils.

Protestantism, like slavery, grows out of the relative imperfections of the human character. There would obviously have been no protestantism had there not been in the past history of the church, men, who mistook error for the truth, fallible men, men liable to wander, in their faith and practice, from the true rule in such matters.

Had the true rule been *constantly observed*, it would be constantly observed now, and hence, no occasion could arise or have arisen for the appeal to the rule to show departures from it. There would have been no departures from it, and hence, the conformity being exact, the conformity would be right, and any opposition or protest would have been wrong. It cannot be otherwise than wrong to protest by a contrary faith or practice against the true faith and practice.

Slavery is not intrinsically right, it is only right circumstantially—right under a set state of circumstances.

The right rule is freedom, but slavery is an exception to that rule; and if right, right as all exceptions are, *according to the circumstances which surround it.** And so of protestantism.

CONSEQUENCES OF ABOLITION AGITATION.

NO. II.

SINCERE AND HYPOCRITICAL FANATICISM—CAUSES OF SOUTHERN SUPREMACY IN THE PAST WAR AND DISUNION SYNONYMOUS. BY EDWIN RUFFIN, OF VIRGINIA.

The picture which has been sketched of the ruin of the South, which will surely result from the present and continued efforts of our "northern brethren" and fellow-citizens to extinguish negro slavery, has nothing in it to moderate or discourage any abolitionist of the fanatical school of Garrison, Giddings, and Beecher. Fanaticism has no moderation, no reason, no mercy. The true abolitionist—an abolitionist for

* Against which argument the editor, as before, protests.—See Review, 1856.

the sake of conscience and what he deems religion—would welcome all the evils and horrors that would come, if these were the necessary consequences of the consummation of his great measure and object. But these men, the only sincere and honest members of the great anti-slavery party, are comparatively but few, and they are but the tools of the more selfish and cunning and baser Searns, and Sumners, and Greelys, who know full well the folly and falsehood of their professed doctrines, and who advocate them merely to acquire political power or personal gain. These and all of the most intelligent leaders, and the greater number of their followers in the abolition party, are not in the least actuated by the alleged sufferings and sorrows of the "poor slave," or by the other evils generally imputed to the institution of slavery. These charges are but pretences to delude their own followers, and induce their obedient following and zealous support. Many of the more candid men of the party admit that they are not deceived, or directed by sympathy for the "poor slave," whose condition they know to be better than it would be if the "poor slave" were made free. But they say (and truly) that notwithstanding the larger population and vote and decided majority of the North, and its greater wealth and more extended education and intelligence, (as claimed,) still that the Government of the United States has been, and still is, generally directed by men of the South, or by men and measures of their choosing. This greater influence of the South is denounced as the "slave power," and to overcome and prostrate this "slave power," and transfer its rule to the North, is the true and great object of the political and hypocritical abolitionists who now lead the great northern party.*

It is true, (and almost the only great truth that the abolitionists have yet arrived at,) that the intellect of the South, in most measures of high importance, has influenced and directed, and controlled the much greater numerical power of the North. And it is also true, that this superiority of influence is a direct consequence, and one of the great benefits of the institution of domestic slavery. In the United States, it is only where negro slavery exists that many men of the rural or agricultural population can have enough of leisure and opportunity to cultivate their intellect, and especially, by social intercourse and the instruction thence derived, so as to become qualified to teach and to lead in public affairs, instead of being mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water," (slaves, in effect, politically,) to a few of the better instructed of their fellows. In the Southern States, the greatest men who have been sent to Congress, or who have occupied still higher public stations, were, for much the greater number, always residents of the country. Washington, Henry, Jefferson, Mason, Bland, Lee,

* Even Mr. Benton, with all of his Northern preclivities, is compelled to admit:

"And this becomes more apparent by contrast—the caucus or rotary system not prevailing in the South, and useful members being usually continued from that quarter as long as useful, and thus with fewer numbers, usually showing a greater number of men who have attained distinction." *Works*, vol. 2, p. 207.

Mr. Benton walks tender-footed here, as usual, when speaking of Northern matters, or instead of saying merely "greater," he would have said a ten-fold number, etc.—EDITOR.

Calhoun, Cheves, and hundreds of other able statesmen, were all slaveholders and country residents. For any such cases of representatives of distinguished talents that can be stated of the rural portions of the non-slaveholding States, in recent times, the South, from its much scantier numbers, can adduce fifty of equal or greater political knowledge and ability. In cities, the case is different. In all great cities there are operating inducements and also facilities for mental culture and improvement, much greater than any where in the country, or than we can have in the Southern States, where there are very few large cities, and none to compare in these respects with Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Therefore, in the great cities of the North and especially in the learned professions and scientific pursuits, there are more of highly educated and scientific professional men, than are to be found in the Southern States. But even of these shining lights of learning and science, but few seem to be fitted for, or at least are entrusted with political offices and duties, by the votes of their fellow-citizens. Even the great cities of the North, with all their learned and able men to select from, more frequently elect representatives of the lower than the higher order of education and intellect. Still, almost the only distinguished statesman who have appeared from the North have been the representatives of cities. Of all the far greater number of Northern members of Congress from the strictly rural districts, and even including in such the villages and small towns, scarcely any deserve to be distinguished for superior education, talent, or statesmanship. (This is notoriously the fact. And though the workings of the caucus or convention system, (a political iniquity and curse borrowed from New York) and also of the evil changes of State constitutions, (in regard to suffrage and popular elections,) have served to lower the grade of the representation of the South, yet, even now any ten Southern representatives, taken at random, will probably possess more political talent than one hundred from the rural districts of the old Northern States, where the stultifying operation of the absence of slavery on an agricultural population has had the longest time to show the sure consequences. Under these different circumstances, it necessarily follows, that the greater superiority of intellectual power, more than the mere brute power of greater numbers, will govern in most questions of statesmanship and profound national policy. And such has been the case in this Federal Government for a long time, and such will be the case, and increasing in degree, so long as one portion of the confederated States enjoy, and the other is without the refining operation of slaveholding on the superior race.*

* A very marked statistical illustration and evidence of my position has come under my eye since writing the above. It is a passage in the noted abolition article in the number of the *Edinburgh Review* for October. This infamous piece of elaborate calumny on the South is doubly a fraud in its source and authorship, besides being a tissue of inventions in its general statements and argument. It appeared in a British publication as if by a British author. And when this fraud was exposed, and it was known that the author was an American both by birth and residence, it was as falsely claimed that he was a Southerner, because he was born of Northern parents during their sojourn in

But though the superior Southern intellect has generally guided the national councils in important matters, it has only been, and can only be, in questions of general policy, requiring great abilities to investigate, and in which the pecuniary interest of members, or those of their constituents, are not concerned. In all questions in which self-interest or sectional aggrandizement is supposed to be involved, the highest intellectual power must be governed by the power of numbers—and even by the most obtuse understandings, if of greater numbers who have, or believe they will have, their personal interests affected by the decision. In questions of foreign relations and policy, of war or peace, or in the selection of chief magistrates, and in supplying or choosing subjects for other high offices, the South has had the main direction of the Federal Government. But in all questions of money, or the means for acquiring gain, by Northern members or their constituents—as by protective tariffs, bounties, direct or indirect, to navigation and commercial interests, pensions, construction of public works, wasteful, or corrupt expenditures from the treasury, bribery, &c., &c., the Northern members have always exerted and enforced their greater numerical power. Thus, Southern intellect was generally free to direct all matters of policy for the public good alone. But in legislative contests between Southern and Northern interests, the South has had to submit to a fixed numerical majority, and to any degree of injustice and outrage which that irresistible majority was interested in inflicting. It is on this ground, and by this latter power, that the great question of slavery, and all minor questions incident thereto, have been judged and decided—because the great body of the Northern people have been so deluded by their unprincipled leaders, as to be made to believe that their personal interest would be promoted by extinguishing slavery in the Southern States. If they knew the truth of the reverse proposition, then the Northern people would quickly become as indifferent to the existence of slavery, as those of the city of New York are to the continual fitting out, in that city, of vessels to carry on the African slave trade in all its present horrors. This enormity, and infamous breach

the South, though he is a Northerner in education, residence, and principles. This writer, to prove the supremacy of the "slave power," adduces these facts: that of the sixteen successive Presidents of the United States, eleven have been slaveholders; and that for five-sixths of the duration of the Government, Southerners by birth, or Northern men elected by Southern votes, have occupied the presidential office. And of the other higher federal offices, there have served from the Southern States,

"Seventeen out of twenty-eight Judges of the Supreme Court;
Fourteen out of nineteen Attorneys-General;
Sixty-one out of seventy-seven Presidents of the Senate;
Twenty-one out of thirty-three Speakers of the House;
Eighty out of one hundred and thirty-four Foreign Ministers."

Now, it is very true that high official position, even in a free or popular government, is not often obtained by the greatest fitness for the service. But, when so much the larger proportion of the highest offices of Government have been, during a long time, filled from the South, there can be no stronger proof of the fact, that in the scanty population of the South, there was a very far greater amount of political talents of high order, than in the more populous Northern States.

of both moral and statute law, is a matter of notoriety, and frequent occurrence; but which seems neither to shock nor disturb the Greeleys and Tappans, and the other numerous abolitionists or fanatics—and indeed seems to be of no concern to but a few of that community.

If, then, as is here charged, the people of the North are so much governed by self-interest, it may well be asked, why do they oppose the institution of negro slavery in the South, in the products of which they are so deeply concerned? It has already been said, that the great body of the northern people are deluded by their leaders. But that is not sufficient. It still is required to be explained why any of the great northern party, if knowing the truth, should still advocate a policy which, if carried out, would be destructive to northern interests? To this question, there are different answers for different portions of the great abolition party. As to the few honest fanatics, of course, they neither consult reason, nor regard consequences. Of the politicians, such as Seward and Hale, they merely aim to join in, and to get the full benefit of the popular clamor against slaveholders, to promote their own personal advancement and gain. Such men would oppose, as injurious to the North, the working of their own present measures, if these measures did not promise still more to serve their private ends and interests. Further—the political leaders of the party would not be willing to meet the consequences of their own complete success, if they expected complete success, and intended to go so far. But they, and all the people of the North, have been taught, by the long submission of the South, to believe that no repetition or increase of oppression by legislation will induce the South to secede, or to offer any other effectual resistance. Some renegade Southerners have, in substance, re-asserted this opinion, and thereby established it in the confidence of the North. Our heretofore and our expected future submission are imputed to our dread of certain ruin, in the destruction of slavery, as a result of separation and war. Therefore, our enemies deem that their best policy, for the purpose of ensuring our submission and complete humiliation, will be continually to threaten and to encroach, but still to withhold entirely from striking the final and fatal blow. It is also a general belief at the North that the southern people, by their inferiority of numbers, and the supposed enfeebling operation of the institution of slavery, are too weak to resist, and too timid to incur the risk of the hostile and warlike action of the stronger North. Hence, impelled by these different considerations, the North supposes that it may vilify and wrong the South to any extent that interest or passion may invite, without danger to the North. And, therefore, the leaders and the most powerful of the party, (who, in opinion or principle, are not abolitionists at all,) may push the movement as far as necessary to attain their personal ends, and crush the political power of the South, (which stands in their way,) and yet stop short of that extremity of injury to the property of the South which would react disastrously on Northern interests.

Southern men have met all past violations of their rights by threats of resistance or separation, and then submitted, until no such threats are believed, or will be believed, unless unmistakable action shall have

commenced. This well-founded incredulity is the secret of all the recent and present abolition movements and designs. And even if, by possibility, and when driven to desperation, the insulted and oppressed South should secede, it is confidently believed by the North that its own stronger military and marine force, and greater wealth, would serve, speedily and easily, to subdue the Southern States. Never was there a greater mistake, or one which, if acted upon, will be corrected more effectually. It is only this mistaken idea of Southern weakness, together with the absence of all military preparation in the South, that can possibly produce war, as the direct and immediate result of separation. If, when separating, we shall be, as now, unprepared for defence, we may surely expect to have war. But due preparation for war will as certainly ensure the maintenance of peace.

It is assumed by most persons that war between the separated portions would be a necessary and immediate consequence of separation. Even if no other ground for war existed, one certain and unavoidable cause is apprehended in the fact of the separate ownership, by the separated communities, of the upper and central waters of the Mississippi, and of its lower waters and their outlet to the sea. And one great consequence of war, (as generally believed in the North, and by very many also in the South,) it is supposed would be, that successful insurrection of the slaves would be invited and produced by war and invasion, and thus their general enfranchisement effected in the most disastrous and afflicting to the whites. Sure and sufficient reasons have already been offered to show, in reference to other and general grounds, that war would not be either a necessary or probable result of separation. Other reasons will now be offered to invalidate this particular cause of war, and afterwards will be considered the particular and worst possible consequence which has been anticipated.

War, in any mode, is an enormous evil, which it is far from my intention to depreciate. And war between separated portions of the same people, and previously long of the same community, would be the most deplorable and calamitous of all wars. A war between the Southern and Northern States, embittered by every growing cause of hostility and mutual hatred, and if waged to extremities with such balanced alternations of success and defeat as might be expected between foes so nearly equal, would be scarcely less destructive to the ultimate conqueror than to the conquered party. The prosperity, wealth, and as yet happy condition of both powers, would be engulfed in one abyss of complete industrial and political ruin. The possibility of these awful consequences should be well considered by all. But, as admonition and warning of the most solemn import, it is for the aggressive and offensive party to heed, and by stopping and restraining its course, to avoid these consequences, and not for the aggrieved and heretofore always yielding party. The South, if still remaining in the Union, can do nothing except to submit entirely and unconditionally to every present and coming measure of aggression, which will be but another way to reach certain ruin. Rather than entire submission, we should prefer any hazards of war and its consequences. For all the calamities of war should be risked, and met, if necessary, by freemen

who deserve to enjoy freedom, rather than to yield their freedom without struggling, to the last ground of hope, in its defence. If, then, we are such men, the threat of war, with all the necessary and horrible consequences, will have no influence to induce the South to purchase peace by entire submission.

The supposed inducement, or necessity for war in the geographical character of the Mississippi river, is as groundless as any other of the anticipated causes for war, in the incidents of the separation of the present Confederacy. Moreover, this result from this particular cause of divided possession of the course of a navigable river, is opposed by the laws of nations and the usages and experience of the whole civilized world. As, however, the fallacy in question has met with very general admission, it may be necessary to examine and expose it at more length than its importance would otherwise require.

This will be attempted in the next number.

ELWOOD FISHER ON THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

NO. III.

It was but the other day that we had an extract from the Report of the Commissioner of Patents, published in all the papers, which undertook to give an estimate of the wealth of the respective States. On an examination it is found to assume population as the basis of wealth. An average is made of the wealth of each man in a few States, and that is multiplied by the number of men in each State. By this rule Indiana, which is more populous than Massachusetts, has more wealth—and the North, of course, greatly more than the South. The Commissioner of Patents is a northern man; and travels deliberately out of the sphere of his duties to make up and send forth this absurd table—and in thus undertaking officially and officiously to enlighten the ignorance of the people, displays his own.

But whilst I contend that statistical evidence may be sufficient to convince, I am aware that it is not enough to satisfy the mind, particularly when at variance with prevalent opinions. It is a legitimate and laudable desire, even after knowing that a thing is so, to know why it is so. And I acknowledge it is incumbent on whoever attempts to overthrow a popular error to show not only that it is such, but that it must be such, on the recognized principles of human judgment.

The reason then, I conceive, for the great pecuniary prosperity of the South, is, that she is so generally agricultural. About half the population of the old Northern States resides in towns or cities—in the Southern about one-tenth.

Even Ohio, a new State, with greater agricultural attractions, naturally, than any other, has already a town and city population estimated at one-fourth of the whole; the single city of Cincinnati, only fifty years of age, containing more people than ten of the largest towns of Virginia, the oldest State of the Union.

But why is agriculture more profitable than manufactures or commerce? One reason is, that agriculture is more productive or multi-

plying than them; that its products are the principal and the indispensable articles of human subsistence, and are obtained with less of human labor and skill than the others. The fecundity of nature can never be rivalled by art. A grain of wheat when sown will produce an hundred fold, but no fabric of the loom, no cargo of the ship can have its value augmented in the same proportion, without the coöperation of a much greater proportion of labor and skill. Commerce and manufacture are chiefly artificial; agriculture is for the most part the work of nature. It is true that the facility with which articles are produced from the soil, influences materially their value in market, and that the prices of different kinds of labor tend to equality; and it is true also, that prices of commodities are affected by the relations of supply and demand. Hence there is no such difference between the profits of the farmer and the artizan, or merchant, as the relative productiveness of their labors would indicate. But the interchange of commodities between the two classes, is by no means equal, nor is it obedient to those laws of trade. The farmer holds the subsistence, and consequently the property of his civilized fellow-men in his power; and this power he will exercise when circumstances permit, according to the sentiments which the possession of power inspires; according to the prejudices of his class, to the appetite of monopoly—and not according to the wages of labor, and the law of supply and demand. The monopoly of the necessities of life which agriculture confers, has produced some of the most striking social and political revolutions in history. It enabled Jacob to extort from Esau, who was a hunter, his birthright for a mess of pottage. But Jacob himself and his family preferred the lighter labors of shepherd life, to tillage, and hence from a scarcity of corn, became dependent on the granaries of Egypt, and fell into bondage. In wars between agricultural and commercial nations, the former have generally conquered. Athens was overcome by Sparta—Greece by Macedon—Carthage by Rome,—events which indicate the superior resources of the conquerors more than their bravery. In England, whose commerce has been enriched by the monopoly of the trade of colonies in every clime, and whose manufactures have been expanded by the most stupendous inventions of genius, agriculture still maintains pre-eminence in wealth and political power, although it comprehends only about one-third of the population. The agriculture of the South produces a greater variety and abundance of the staple articles of human comfort and subsistence than that of any other region. Besides such breadstuffs and provisions as the North affords, the South has by the superior genius and energy of her people acquired almost a monopoly of the cotton culture. The South thus controls an extraordinary proportion of that food and clothing which the world consumes, and hence makes a corresponding progress in wealth.

Whilst agricultural life is so much more productive than other avocations, it is vastly less expensive or consuming. Almost all other pursuits resort to towns and cities, where the style of living is costly and extravagant. It is very rare to find farmers or planters residing in palaces of marble or granite. It is seldom that even public buildings in the country are constructed of such materials. But in cities they

are not unusual in private dwellings with those who have the means—whilst the great number of public buildings, churches, banks, offices, &c., are of corresponding magnificence. The style of building affords a fair criterion of the other elements of expense in city life, diet, clothing, and amusements. It is well known that in the largest cities, the expenditure of the wealthy class of families amounts to some eight or ten thousand dollars a year. Now among the planters of the South of equal wealth, in the country, it would be hard to find a mere domestic expenditure of such an amount; perhaps rarely more than half of it. In the country, the inducement to build such habitations is not so great. There are not so many to admire and to praise in a rural neighborhood as throng the streets and avenues of a large city. Nor is there to be found in the country the over-grown millionaire to set the example, and to fire the pride and vanity of his poorer neighbors, their wives and daughters with a desire to emulate and imitate.

In a city the temptation to indulgence is incessant, because almost every object of desire is in market, and desire itself is inflamed not only by opportunity but by rivalry.

It is this great display of wealth and luxury in cities, which has caused the popular error that they are the peculiar abodes of wealth and prosperity; and that the States where they abound, are more flourishing than others. The world is a great believer in appearances. But it is curious that the very circumstances which have given to cities a character for riches, should be the causes of that poverty, whose actual existence has been proven. For the practice of extravagance is not confined to the rich, but extends to every class of city life. For in every class there are rivals struggling with each other to make the best appearance, and the distinctions of class are so indistinct as to make each one ambitious of equalling its immediate superior. In a word, the dominion of fashion is far more despotic and oppressive in city than in country life. Even the poor seamstress, who bends over her work during the tedious hours of day, and far into the night, to earn a meagre subsistence, until dimness gathers in her eye, and distortion fastens on her form, pays from her scanty earnings the tribute exacted by fashion, and arrays herself in a costume as conformable to the prevailing mode as her means can make it. But in the country, where people do not live under each others observation and criticism continually, it is otherwise. It is only when visiting or visited that the occasion of display occurs, and the annual expenditure is regulated accordingly. It is true that the average wealth of the inhabitants of cities is generally greater than that of the rest of the people in the State, and almost equals that of prosperous agricultural States. But this wealth is not the product of city employments. It results from the influx into the city of persons who have become rich in the country, and who resort to the cities, because they cannot carry on agricultural operations extensively in the country in free States. This results from the high price of agricultural labor in the free States, and its irregularity. An industrious laborer on a farm, soon acquires enough money to buy a small tract of public land, and emigrates to it. Hence a farmer who acquires some wealth in these States, and finds it

difficult to extend his operations in the country, resorts to commercial operations, and settles in town. Even those who would prefer remaining in the country, and yet desire to enjoy their fortunes in social intercourse, find it difficult to spend their leisure pleasantly in the neighborhood, from the want of associates of equal means, the great mass being the occupants of small farms, without servants, and therefore lack the means of performing the rites of hospitality, without a derangement of their domestic systems. The want then, of society in the country, the opportunity of investing largely in towns, the chances of acquiring great fortunes by speculation, and the facilities for gratifying our various appetites which wealth affords in cities, all conspire to divert the wealth of the country to the town, in free States. Even in Boston, for instance, it appears by a recent enumeration that nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants were not born in the city; nearly one-half are natives of the Union, most of them of course from Massachusetts, and the other New England States. In fact not quite one-tenth of the people of Boston, over twenty years of age, were born there. The total population of Boston in 1825, was 43,298, and in 1845, the native population instead of being double was but 41,076. So that there has been no natural increase of the population of Boston in twenty years. These facts afford striking evidence, not only of the sources of Boston wealth, but of the rapidity with which it is wasted on its arrival. Besides the extravagant and speculative habits of cities, which waste their resources, we must add the enormous taxation to which they are subject. The city of New York, with its four hundred thousand people, is taxed, for the present year, about three millions of dollars, a sum which is about half as much as the taxes of all the fifteen Southern States combined.

But the most disastrous and appalling consequences of city avocations, is the waste of human life. In the city of New York, the deaths last year exceeded 14,000, or one person out of every twenty-eight; and it was a year of no uncommon mortality for that place. The great mortality of the eastern cities is supposed to belong chiefly to the emigrant population. But this is not the case. In 1836, when the deaths were 8,009 in New York, only a little over one-fourth were foreign; and that must have been about the proportion of that population. In 1847 the deaths in the city of New York were 15,788, of whom only 5,412 were foreigners, although the mortality of that year was increased by the ship fever, which was very fatal to emigrants. The deaths week before last were 286, of which 108, or more than one-third were foreign, and the proportion of that population is now much more than one-third. The mortality of New York is much greater than it seems; because being so largely emigrant from the interior and from abroad, the proportion of adults in her population is much greater than ordinary, and among adults mortality is not near so great as among children. New York has 50,000 children less than her share.

In the last twenty years the population of New York has nearly doubled, but its mortality has nearly trebled.

According to an official statement of the duration of human life in

the several avocations in Massachusetts in 1847, it appears that the average of

Agriculturists is.....	64.14 years.
Merchants	49.20 "
Mechanics	46.45 "
Laborers.....	46.73 "

This is the average life-time in the several occupations, beginning at twenty years. According to this, the three avocations of city life, merchants, mechanics, and laborers, average about 46½ years, whilst farmers live more than 64 years, or one-third longer. This enormous, and I had almost said atrocious destruction of human life, which is continually going on in towns and cities, is enough of itself to account for the superior progress of agriculture in wealth. The loss of so large a proportion of time, in adult years, the expenses of sickness, and the derangement of business, make an aggregate of itself enough to sink any reasonable rate of profit or accumulation in any pursuit. And, hence it is that the South, which is so much exempt from the corrosive action of cities on property and population, has made such rapid progress in wealth.

Thus, then, the superior productiveness of agricultural labor, the great intrinsic value as articles of necessity, of its products, the extravagant style of living in towns and cities, and finally, the ruinous waste of human life and labor they occasion, are reasons enough to account for the fact previously demonstrated, of the triumph of the agricultural States of the South over the more commercial States of the North.

But it is objected that the Northern States are more populous, and that if the average wealth of their individual citizens is less, the aggregate wealth of the State is greater. This, however, is of no consequence to the argument. The aggregate wealth of Ireland is no doubt greater than that of any of our States, as her population is so much greater. And yet her people die by thousands of starvation. I am considering the condition of our people, as affected by their respective institutions and pursuits. And I think this is the great point in which patriotism, and philanthropy, and philosophy are concerned.

But it is asserted that the system of the South is depopulating; that the people of Virginia are deserting her; that the population of Kentucky is almost stationary; and that the whole southern section is but thinly settled, and promises to remain so. If it be meant by all this, that Southern modes of living are incompatible with a dense population, I admit it, and rejoice in it. So far as the concentration of people in towns and cities is concerned, I have endeavored to show that such a thing is not so much to be desired. Nor do I think it expedient to promote the augmentation of numbers within the territorial limits of a State, by a minute subdivision of farms and plantations among a multitude of proprietors or tenants. Such is too much the tendency in the free States, and in other countries, and it has been found fatal to agricultural improvement. It has resulted in France in reducing the average size of farms to an area of three or four acres, held under their laws of descent by distinct proprietors. And in a

part of Scotland, and in Ireland, tracts of a similar size are held by separate tenants. And it is precisely among the peasantry of France, the croftiers of Scotland, and the cottiers of Ireland, that stagnation and desolation have overspread the land, and semi-barbarism and starvation, the people. The division of land for cultivation into very small tracts is destruction of its value. The soil of France is, on an average, of unusual fertility, and its climate so genial as to be favorable to a great variety of productions. Yet there, with a dense population of its own, and in the neighborhood of Great Britain, with its mighty cities, the greatest market in the world, the average value of land is only five or six dollars per acre—is less than in Virginia. In England the average size of tracts, held by the several sorts of tenure, is about 150 acres, which is about as small as can be made profitable; as small as is compatible with the due rotation of crops, a judicious variety of stock, and the prompt adoption of improvements in culture and utensils. In France, the owner of a three or four acre farm, worth only twenty-five dollars, cannot of course afford to buy an improved plough, much less can the renter of such a tract in Ireland. It would cost more than the whole crop is worth. Accordingly a large proportion of French and Irish tillage is performed with the spade, at a great expense of manual labor; and accordingly, it is in England chiefly, where the tracts are large, that the modern improvements in agriculture have been made, and there the soil is more productive and profitable. That some Virginians, instead of adopting some of the new methods of preserving and restoring the fertility of their lands, choose to emigrate to new States, where the soil is already rich by nature, and is cheap, results from a mere calculation and comparison of the cost of the two systems. And if it be found more profitable to remove to a new, than to renovate an old soil, it is an evidence of thrift rather than poverty in the emigrant. And of this the superiority of the new Southwestern over the new Northwestern States, which will appear by a comparison of their property and population is ample proof.*

But the impression exists that the population of the South, as a section, is really stationary, or is declining. And this being assumed, it is regarded as evidence that the people of the South are migrating, either from dissatisfaction with its institutions, or with its progress and prospects, or that the vices peculiar to its system, are unfavorable to the increase of its population, or that all these combine to depopulate her.

But all this is a mistake. If we deduct from the free States the

* In the Kentucky Auditor's report of 1848, we find a table (No. 16) of the distribution of property in that State, which indicates a degree of wealth, and of its equitable allotment, which may challenge any community for comparison.

Without property.....	7,436	parents.
With less than \$100 worth.....	42,964	"
" from \$100 to \$400.....	12,344	"
" from \$400 to \$600.....	5,685	"
" over \$600.....	28,791	"

It has been alleged, that in the South, there are only about 300,000 slaveholders. Well, supposing each adult slaveholder to have an average family of six, the slaveholding population of the South would amount to 1,800,000, which is probably as large a proportion as the land-holding population of the North.

foreign emigration, and its offspring, the residue, representing the native population, does not indicate so great a natural increase as the present number of people in the Southern States.

Of the foreign emigrants, no register was kept until 1820. From that year until 1840, it amounted to more than 700,000 persons, according to the returns. But large numbers came by the way of Canada, for which, during a considerable period, the facilities were greater than by the direct route. These have been estimated at half the number registered in the custom-house. Assuming, however, the whole number to be a million, which is the lowest estimate I have seen, their natural increase, in the twenty years, could not have been less than half a million—making 1,500,000. Now the white population of 1840, in the free States, was 9,557,431; deducting 1,500,000, it would be 8,057,431. In 1820 it was 5,033,983, and has consequently had a natural increase of 60 per cent.

The white population of the South was, in 1820, 2,833,585, and is now 4,635,637, which exhibits a natural increase of 65 per cent. I have included all the foreign emigration in the North. A little of it, however, has gone to the South, but not more than the excess of Southern people who have removed to the Northwestern States.*

This evidence of the great natural increase of Southern white population, is an answer to another imputation against it, very current at the North. It has been held that slavery is a degradation of labor; that therefore the white people of the South refuse to work, and live in idleness; and that from idleness they become dissipated, vicious, and violent. But vice is fatal to the increase of population. It destroys constitutional vigor, diminishes the number of children, and afflicts the few that are born with hereditary infirmity and premature death. One fact is disclosed by the census, which is very significant on this point. There is an excess among the white people of the South of 132,072 males. Among those of the North only 178,275. This is about 97,000 less than the proportion the North ought to have to equal the South. But when we consider that the foreign population settles almost exclusively in the Northern States, and contains much more than its proportion of males, it is apparent that the deficit of the North in male population is much larger. Now the vices of civilized society affect males chiefly, young men and boys, far more than any other. And if it were true that the South is more immoral than the North, it would appear in the deficit of male population. But the reverse seems to be the fact.

The explanation of this result is to be found in the same circumstances that determine the relative wealth of the two sections. The South is rural in residence and habits. It does not present the temp-

* It has been suggested that the emigrant population arrive poor, and therefore, when included in the average of individual wealth in the North, reduce its rates. But the foreigner is generally adult if he is poor; and therefore acquires wealth more easily than the native. If, however, the emigrant population be stricken out of the estimate, and the whole property of the North divided among the natives, their proportion will yet be far below that of the South.

tation or the opportunity for sensual gratification to be found in city life. It is to cities that the passions and appetites resort for their carnival. The theatre, the gaming house, the drinking house, and places of still more abandoned character abound in them, and to these the dissipated youth goes forth at night from home, along the high-road to ruin. In the family of the Southern planter or farmer, although wine may be drank, and cards played, all is done at home under parental and feminine observation; and, therefore, excess can never go so far. Of course the sons of planters visit the cities, but those in their neighborhood are trivial in size, and meagre in attractions—those most distant are the more seldom seen. The ancient poets, who thought that the lower regions were the abode of great and good men as well as bad, located the entrance in a remote and solitary place. Thus Homer conducts Ulysses on his visit to the shades of his brother warrior Greeks, to a thinly settled country of dark skinned people.

"When lo, we reached old Ocean's utmost bounds,
Where rocks control his waves with ever during mounds.
There is a lonely land and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells."

There he found the portals of the infernal world. So Virgil conducts Eneas to the sombre and solemn forest of the Cumean sybil. But with our improved conceptions of the character of that place and its inmates, and the most direct avenues to approach it, the modern Epic poet who desires to give his hero a view of it, will have to fix the gateway in the heart of a great city where the vices hold their revels. 'Tis there

"The gates of hell are open night and day,
Smooth the descent and easy is the way."

It cannot be said that the excessive mortality among the males of the North is owing to their unwholesome employments. For the females are employed in similar or more destructive avocations. In Massachusetts about fifty thousand women work in factories, and yet in that State there is an excess of 7,672 females, whereas if the natural proportion of the sexes existed among the native population, or such as is found at the South, Massachusetts ought to have an excess of twenty-two thousand males. So that at present she has about thirty thousand females beyond the due proportion. It is true that Massachusetts loses a portion of her male population by emigration to the West, although she is reinforced again by the excess of males in the foreign emigrants that have settled there. But there still remains a large portion who must have perished by the sickness and vices of the towns and cities that contain so large a part of her people—Boston alone, with its suburb towns, having a population of 200,000, or nearly one-third of all the State. So then, the operation of the institutions of this model State of the North, is to violate the laws of nature by a separation of the sexes; to send thousands of her sons away from their happy condition at home, to encounter the hardships of the West; to send multitudes of others to die by dissipation in her cities, and to place her lonely and deserted women, not in convents, but in factories. I have said that there are about fifty thousand women employed in the

factories of Massachusetts. Such is the testimony of the official census of the State in 1845. Those who are thus employed, it is well known, are generally young, unmarried women, as such a vocation would be rather incompatible with the domestic duties of wives. Now, according to the census of 1840, there were but about 57,000 women in that State between the ages of 17 and 25. So that about seven-eighths of the marriageable women of Massachusetts, at a time of life that ought to be sacred to love and courtship, to pleasure and to hope, to home and to society, are sent forth from the parental roof, to labor for years, confined to an over-heated room, containing a hundred persons, each confined to a space five feet square, for thirteen hours a day, under a male overseer, and not permitted to receive a visit from a lover or a relative in the mill, except by the permission of the proprietor's agent, or at the boarding house, except by the permission of the proprietor's housekeeper; for such are the regulations and condition of Lowell. This confinement to factories, postpones the marriage of the women of Massachusetts to an average of 23 or 24 years.* I do not know at what age precisely marriages occur in Virginia, but the census shows that Virginia, with fewer adults, has 100,000 more of children.

In determining the condition of civilized communities, it is generally considered essential to inquire into the state of their pauperism; not only because the paupers themselves usually constitute a considerable class, but because their number affects vitally the condition of the entire laboring class.

In the State of New York the progress of pauperism has been rapid. In 1830, the number supported or relieved was 15,506. In 1835 it was 38,362, according to Chapin's U. S. Gazetteer for 1844. In 1843 or 1844 the number had increased to about 72,000 permanent, and the same number of occasional paupers, making a total of 144,000 as appears from the Journal of Commerce. These were for the whole State, and there was thus, one pauper to every seventeen inhabitants. In 1847 there were received at the principal alms houses for the city of New York 28,692 persons, and *out door* relief was given out of public funds to 44,572 persons, making a total of 73,264. So that about *one person out of every five* in the city of New York was dependent, more or less, on public charity. The total cost that year of this pauperism was \$319,293 88.* For this present year of 1849, the estimate is \$400,000, according to the mayor's message.

In Massachusetts, it appears by the returns, that there were in 1836 5,580 paupers, and in 1848, 18,693. These latter were all in the alms houses. Those relieved out of the alms houses were 9,817, making a total of 28,510, according to the report of the Secretary of State of Massachusetts. And the returns from forty-one towns are omitted. If allowance be made for these, it will be seen that in Massachusetts one person out of every twenty is a constant or occasional pauper. It thus appears that in these two States pauperism is advancing ten times as rapidly as their wealth or population. It has become so great as to include large numbers of able-bodied men, who it appears cannot, or what

* American Almanac.

is worse, will not, earn a subsistence, and if such be the case, what must be the condition of the great mass of people hanging on the verge of pauperism, but withheld by an honorable pride, from applying for public charity.

Now, throughout the greater part of Virginia and Kentucky pauperism is almost unknown. I passed, some time ago, the poor houses of Campbell county, Kentucky, on the opposite side of the river, and there was not a solitary inmate. And I have known a populous county in Virginia to have but one.

It has generally been supposed that the paupers of Massachusetts and New York are principally foreign emigrants. But this is a mistake. In the 5,580 paupers of Massachusetts in 1836, only 1,192 were of foreign birth—but little over one-fifth, which does not probably exceed the proportion then, of that population in the State. In 1845, of 1,016 persons admitted into the alms houses of Boston, 490 were foreign, of whom 382 were Irish; but that was the year of Irish famine. In 1848, of 18,993 paupers received into the alms houses of Massachusetts, 7,413 were foreigners.* We do not know what proportion of the people of that State are foreigners; in Boston there is about one-third.

When pauperism extends to the class that are able to labor, it is evident that the wages of labor are reduced to the cost of subsistence. And hence the whole class must be subjected to the melancholy and terrible necessity of working, rather to avoid the poor house, than of bettering their condition. And the pauper in an alms house is a slave. He works under a master, and receives nothing but a subsistence. And there are already in New York and Massachusetts about one hundred thousand persons in this condition; about an equal number occasionally so, and they are increasing at the rate of 200 per cent., whilst the whole population does not increase 20 per cent. in ten years. In Cincinnati the number of paupers, permanent and occasional, already amounts to two thousand.

Whilst the property of the North is thus compelled to contribute to the support of this great and growing burden, and the labor of the North must not only assist in its support also, but must work in competition with it, they are subjected to another mighty evil, which springs from, or at least, is aggravated by the same causes, and that is crime.

The number of convicts in the three penitentiaries of New York, Auburn, Sing Sing, and Blackwell's Island, is about two thousand. In the penitentiary of Virginia there are only 111 whites and 89 blacks. This indicates four times the amount of crime in proportion to the white population in New York as in Virginia. In Massachusetts there were in 1847 288 persons in the State prison, which indicates more than twice the crime in that State as in Virginia. Taking all the New England States together, their penitentiary convicts are twice as numerous, in proportion to population, as in Virginia, as will be seen by consulting the American Almanac for 1849. It contains sketches of the criminal statistics of the several States, and is New England authority. In Ohio there are 470 persons in the penitentiary, in

* American Almanac.

Kentucky 130, Ohio being 25 per cent. the most, according to population. According to the returns of the Kentucky penitentiary, one-half of her convicts for the last ten years came from the single county in which Louisville, her principal town, is located, and one-third of the whole number were born in free States. So much for the States of the North, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial, old and new, as compared with those of the South in crime. The results are uniformly and largely in favor of the South.

If we turn to the official reports of crime in the great cities of the North, we behold a state of society exhibited at which the mind is appalled. In Boston the number of persons annually arraigned for crime exceeds four thousand, and of this number about one-third are females. So that one person out of every 14 males, and one out of every 28 females, is arrested annually for criminal offences. There may be some who are arraigned more than once a year, but, on the other hand, there must be many who escape detection altogether.

ENGLISH OPINIONS, COTTON, SLAVE-TRADE, ETC.

At a meeting of the cotton merchants of Liverpool the other day, Mr. Horsfall is reported to have said :

What is the position—what is our position at this moment with regard to our supply of cotton? I believe I am within the mark when I say that we receive four-fifths of our supply from America. Is this politic or is it not? I am not one of those who anticipate an interruption to the good feeling which exists between this country and America, nor am I apprehensive of an interruption which, to take place, would not enable the cotton to find its way to this country.

But there are also other important questions of which we must not lose sight, we cannot lose sight of the fact that in America there are 2,000,000 slaves, and they are the principal cultivators of cotton. And what would be the result, supposing in the possible, I might say in the probable, event of either a legalized emancipation or an insurrection of the slaves? What would be the consequence? Look at our colonies, where emancipation has been legalized, and there is a decrease in their productions; but, imagining a legalized emancipation of the slaves in America, we have a right to assume, and we must assume, that there would be a great falling off in the present supply of cotton. (Hear.) This is a point of view which we must bear in mind, and it is one which, in my opinion, makes it important that we should look and endeavor to discover where the deficiency which must arise can be supplied from. We naturally turn to India; from India we receive a large supply. If improvements which we have a right to expect, were to take place in India; if the land were held under a different tenure; if encouragement were given to growers of cotton; and if encouragement were given to those who desired to invest capital in cotton and for the irrigation of the land, the supply of the raw material would be increased very materially, and supplied to this country of such quality as could well compete with that of America. I have been asked whether a supply cannot be brought from the West Indies? They say it has come from there before—why can it not come again? Circumstances are totally altered since the supply came from the West Indies; but notwithstanding that, I believe now, if the Government encouraged an adequate supply of labor in the West Indies, by encouraging emigration more than they do from India and China, labor must become so abundant as to produce a much larger supply than at present. Look at India and China; the Government allow the principle, but permit a limited supply of labor; they do not allow free trade; they station a Government officer, who

does not permit the collection of Coolies by any one but himself. Let the Government put the matter on some such footing as he should name, for they were afraid of the anti-slavery movement in England. I am opposed to slavery; and I would suggest that the Government should say: "You are at perfect liberty to collect the Chinese and Coolies. We station an officer here and you shall bring them before him; they are going of their own free will."

Now if they adopted that principle, I am convinced that emigration would go on and admit of the growth of cotton in the West Indies. Then, again, we are referred to Africa; we know that cotton grows very abundantly in many parts of that country. To the credit of Manchester, be it said, experiments have been tried by philanthropists, amongst them Mr. Turner, and in the first year a very good description of cotton was sent home. They were disappointed, however, in many features of the case—one especially—they understood that the cotton was a biennial plant, instead of a perennial plant, and its cultivation was ultimately abandoned; but it established this fact, that cotton could be grown in plantations of a very good quality. The second was a more successful experiment, made by Mr. Clegg, of Manchester. He sent out a large quantity of the cotton seed to be distributed amongst the natives; and the first year he got home some 300 lbs. or 400 lbs.; the next year, 14,000 lbs.; the third, 30,000 lbs.; and he was now expecting getting home 1,000 bales. (Cheers.) Certainly, Mr. Clegg's experiment illustrated the fact, that good cotton could be grown in Africa. We have the testimony of Dr. Livingstone, that cotton grows luxuriantly throughout the interior of Africa, and to a great extent; but I am not one of those who look forward for an immediate supply from Africa, it must be some years first. Still, from our knowledge of India and Africa, we can look for an immediate supply from the former, and at some future period for one from the latter. But I cannot help expressing my conviction that though the Government are in duty bound, and I believe will support an enterprise for the promotion of the growth of cotton, it is to British enterprise and to British capital that we must look for the great instrument in promoting the object we have in view. (Loud cheers.) I beg to propose the following resolution: "That this meeting is deeply sensible of the inadequate supply of cotton to meet the requirements of manufacturing industry, and that such supply being almost entirely derived from one source, is uncertain and precarious in quantity and unduly fluctuating in price, causing thereby loss and inconvenience to the consumer, and endangering the stability of the future prosperity of this country."

The London Times thus speaks out its mind very plainly in regard to colonial productions, the African fleet, and the slave-trade:

This is the end of all our exertions. For this it is that we have quarreled with other nations, or coaxed them, compromising our position or making our names odious. For this a squadron is kept on the coast of Africa at a cost of several hundred thousand pounds yearly, and a family or two in almost every one's acquaintance has had its victim to fever or sunstroke. For this we keep up settlements over forty degrees of latitude, sending out governors and bishops to perish amid the malaria of festering marshes. For this we have societies and subscriptions at home, and sermons about the grain of mustard-seed, and speeches in Parliament about Britain's ægis thrown over the slave. Brazil and Spain care as little for our principles as the naked barbarians who sell their prisoners or subjects to the skippers. The question, then, is, what shall we do? To dispatch cruisers to the African coast to chase slavers has been avowedly a failure. To remonstrate with foreign governments has been equally ineffectual. We have the choice of two alternatives—either to leave the trade to itself, in which case it would be carried on with at least a mitigation of barbarity, since the health of the cargo would be to the advantage of the trader, or to take summary measures to prevent the landing of negroes on any point of the slave-importing coast. To blockade thoroughly Cuba and Brazil is certainly a difficult enterprise, but still it might be effected by the perseverance of diplomacy or the

authority of superior force. There would at least be something of honesty and consistency in such a course, however great might be the risk and the hostility which the act might awaken. But the present position of moderate and hesitating imbecility can effect nothing, *and the sooner we relinquish a policy which supports a preventive squadron on the African coast, without hindering heavily-laden slavers from appearing in the harbors of Cuba, the better it will be for our character as a sincere and determined people.*

In the same connection we have a report of a late interview had with Lord Palmerston with a deputation of gentlemen connected with the West India business. These intelligent gentlemen it will be perceived, make no concealment of the desire to open in a modified form the African slave-trade, though without such doubt in the event the difference between the ancient and modern trade would be the important one between "tweedle dum and tweedle dee."

The points pressed upon Lord Palmerston's attention were the violation by Spain of the treaties with Great Britain, the increase in the trade in Cuba, especially during the last three years, the further impetus to be dreaded from the high price of sugar, the depressing influence on the prospects of free labor, the serious obstruction to the progress of the negro population, *the necessity for negro labor on the plantations, and for the influx of such labor in almost all the West India islands, and, as a consequence, the supply of slave labor to meet such demand, unless free labor of the same quality is provided.*

The following are the suggestions made for abolishing slavery by African emigration treaties:

Suppression of slavery itself, not the trade alone through emigration treaties, by substituting the free black African for the slave.

Emigration must be universal; if restricted to British colonies Britain might be charged with interested motives. If France cannot be joined, she will soon import the free black by herself. To Spain and Portugal it must be shown to be their interest to join.

Emigration must be accompanied or followed by emancipation. Free blacks must not be imported into a slave country, lest, like emancipados, they become slaves.

Emigration may be regulated by a mixed commission in Africa, the objects thereof to be voluntary contracts, free passage and outfit, suitable vessels, return passages, or grants of land.

Emigration in lieu of slavery is for the interest of Cuba. Compare cost of slave, \$700 (£140) with that of free black emigrant, £7 10s. a head, (adults.) Slavery furnishes but a temporary supply of labor by individuals worked to death in ten years, while emigration gives a permanent supply by colonization in families.

How emancipation is to be effected in Cuba. An immediate Spanish law for emancipation in a limited period for purchase of slaves through loans guaranteed as to interest by Britain, if necessary; the interest to be met by a poll tax and annual tax on emigrants, and tax on exports. Emigration to be the bonus for emancipation.

Colonization of the West Indies with free blacks will civilize Africa by constant communication through an emigration highway between the African tribes and civilized nations. The emigration and missionary boards will aid each other. Numerous emigration stations, with a mixed commission and open treaties, will instill confidence everywhere.

Emigrants will tend to put down intestine African wars. The normal state of Africa is war followed by captivity. Commerce and civilization must root out war. Each new emigration will be a bond for peace. The emigrants will be selected from freemen, not captives.

THE COFFEE TRADE—ITS PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OVER THE WORLD.

The cultivation and consumption of coffee have followed very much in the same geographical lines as the cultivation of sugar, and it has become equally important as an article of commerce. Like sugar, from having been first introduced as a luxury, it has become more or less a necessary of life to a large portion of the civilized world. The coffee plant was early known to have been a native of Arabia, and especially in the neighborhood of Yemen, not far distant from Mocha, the port of its exportation; and hence its name of Mocha coffee. The period at which it was first introduced to use in the form of an infusion from the roasted and crushed berries is uncertain, though it is not thought to date farther back than the early part of the fifteenth century. Ancient writers make no mention of its use, nor do modern authors allude to it earlier than the sixteenth century. A German physician, called Leonhart, was said to have been the first European who gave any notice of coffee, and whose work was published in 1573. It was very accurately described by Prosper Albinus, who had seen it in Egypt, when resident there as physician to the Venetian Consul, in his work on the medical plants of Egypt, and which appeared in 1591 and 1592.

A public coffee house was first established in London in 1652.

A Turkey merchant, named Edwards, brought along with him from the Levant some bags of coffee, and a Greek servant, accustomed to make it. His house soon became thronged with visitors, anxious to see and taste the new beverage.

The servant was permitted by Mr. Edwards, soon afterwards, to gratify the increasing public taste, to open a coffee house in St. Michael's alley, Cornhill, where the Virginia Coffee House afterwards stood.

Carraway's, near by the same locality, was the first house of the kind opened in London after the great fire in 1666. This coffee house was still continued in 1841, when it was patronized by the writer of this article, then visiting London.

According to the best authority, coffee was introduced into France between the years 1640 and 1660, and the first house for the sale of coffee was opened in Marseilles in 1671, and another in Paris the following year. Between the years 1680 and 1690, the Dutch first planted coffee beans, which they had procured from Mocha, in the vicinity of Batavia, island of Java. In 1690 they sent a plant to Europe, and the berries which it produced were subsequently sent to the West Indies, and to Surinam, and from which the first coffee plantations in those countries were supplied.

The cultivation of coffee met with great success in St. Domingo, and for many years was the source from which Europe derived its chief supplies—having exported at one time about 38,000 tons, or about seventy-six million pounds; and it was supposed that had not the revolution broken out in 1792, it would in that year have exported 42,000

tons, or about eighty-four million pounds. The devastation by that event caused almost a total cessation in the supplies.

Being driven from St. Domingo, its culture was greatly augmented in Cuba, Jamaica, Surinam, and Java, and was subsequently introduced with great success into Brazil.

As the culture advanced in Brazil, it declined in Cuba, the growth of sugar having been found capable of more rapid extension, and being more profitable.

It was some time after coffee was first planted in Brazil before it became an article of export to any great extent.

In 1774, a Franciscan friar, named Villaso, cultivated a single tree in the garden of the convent of St. Antonio. Brazil was then governed by the Marquis de Lavadio as viceroy. The first fruits of the tree were presented to the Marquis, who distributed them among the most respectable planters, explaining to them the advantages of adding another valuable article to the produce of the country; but being strong in their prejudices in favor of sugar and indigo, few took pains to cultivate it, and hence its progress was very slow. In 1808 Don Joas VI. fled from Portugal to Rio de Janeiro, and soon after opened the port to foreign trade. The annual crop of coffee then did not exceed 30,000 bags, of 160 lbs. each, or 8,000,000 lbs. Although the revolution in St. Domingo had overthrown its culture there, Cuba and Jamaica continued, to some extent, to supply the trader. In 1820 its increase in Brazil had swelled to 100,000 bags. The decrease of supply, by the desolation of St. Domingo, caused it to reach the enormous price of 148s per cwt, or nearly 37½ cts. per lb. in London, in the years 1817 and 1821. This great price stimulated the production in Brazil. The fall of St. Domingo had caused the culture of indigo to be transferred to British India, and its culture was abandoned in Brazil, with sugar for coffee. Hence emancipation in St. Domingo gave the monopoly of the cultivation and supply of indigo to British India, where it has remained ever since.

In 1789, just previous to the revolution, Hayti exported 76,834,219 lbs. of coffee; in 1818 we find the exports fell to about 26,000,000 lbs., and at this time they do not probably exceed thirty or thirty-five millions. The export of sugars in 1789, just before the revolution, reached 140,000,000 lbs. It has now ceased, and the population actually import supplies from Cuba and Porto Rico. In 1834, the year in which the emancipation act went into effect, Jamaica exported to England—

	1834.	1839.
Sugars—cwt.....	1,256,253	705,078
Coffee—lbs.....	18,268,883	9,423,197

We thus find that the exports of coffee fell off the first five years after emancipation about one-half, and sugar nearly in an equal ratio. In August, 1834, the negroes were emancipated by the English Government in Jamaica, which struck a death blow at its culture there, while sugar had measurably superseded its growth in Cuba. These causes combined, with the unrestricted supply of African slave labor, to give its culture a powerful impulse in Brazil. Hence, we find by the year

1830, its crop had increased to 400,000 bags, or 64,000,000 lbs. The slave-trade, by convention with England, was to cease in February, 1830. This produced an enormous import of slaves, which could only be disposed of at low prices and on long credits. This, again, stimulated the planting of new estates, and the crop rapidly increased, so that in 1840 it actually reached 1,060,898 bags, or about 168,600,000 lbs. The cultivation being found profitable, the demand for slaves continued, and notwithstanding the attempts of the British Government to put a stop to it, the slave-trade has been continually carried on clandestinely ever since, the importations from Africa having amounted to from 30,000 to 50,000 annually, the vessels supplied for which having been chiefly built and fitted out in the Northern cities of the United States, and sailing under whatever colors best answered their purpose of concealment.

The increase in the crop since 1840 has been very rapid, and in 1847 reached about 1,804,558 bags, about 288,333,000 lbs. The low prices in 1848 and 1849 had a tendency to check production. The difficulties of importing slaves, under a new treaty made with England in 1845, cut off the supply so far that those which were secretly introduced barely supplied the annual loss, which was 10 per cent., and sometimes more; and should the trade be stopped altogether, as aimed at by England, it will cause the cultivation of coffee to decrease in Brazil, to become augmented in the East Indies, and especially in British India; and should negro slavery be overthrown, coffee would, to a great extent, follow the course of indigo, and become to some extent an article of British production and control. The climate of Brazil is highly favorable to the cultivation of coffee, the trees yielding nearly double those of the West Indies.

The growth of Brazil, by 1854, reached the astonishing quantity of 400,000,000 lbs., while the production in the British West India Islands has rapidly declined since the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, as will be seen from the following table:

1848—The British West India Islands yielded....	\$10,000,000
1853, '54, and '55 they yielded only.....	5,000,000

Jamaica alone, in 1834, the year the Emancipation act was declared in the Islands, amounted to 18,268,183 pounds.

We see by this the same result as that which followed emancipation in St. Domingo. Coffee, with other tropical products, has fluctuated with the supply and cheapness and reliability of African slave labor.

If coolies can be brought in under a voluntary apprenticeship, why cannot Africans be allowed to come in by the same method, placed under proper regulations and guarantees on the coast of Africa?

The coffee-growing districts of Brazil are divided into the Serra Abaixo, or below the mountains, and Serra Acima, above the mountains. The produce of the former is about one-sixth part of the whole crop, in good years, but is much more uncertain than the Serra Acima, being more liable to injury from drought, which is said of late years to have been frequent. The quality is also inferior, and seldom shipped

to the United States. The trees usually flower three times each year, generally in August, September, and October, and are ready for picking, in favorable seasons, in March, April, and May, varying according to situation, which is considerable. In April small quantities of poor new coffee appear in market. In May and June the quantity is greater, but never abundant until July and August. The trees of Serra Acima bloom later, but the crop is more uniform, enabling planters to gather a crop at a single picking, which is a great saving of labor. Entire cargoes are not generally obtained from the Serra Acima district until August and September. Usually the supplies remaining over of the old crop are first sent to the market before planters clean out the new, and hence it is often as late as October and November before the bulk of the new crop is in market.

The cost of transporting the coffee to market is said to average the planter about two cents per pound, owing to imperfect facilities. The actual cost of production is said to be not much under $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, and as negroes are decimated by cholera and other diseases, without new importations are required to supply their places, negroes must advance in value and enhance the cost of production.

The first import of Brazil coffee into the United States was made in 1809, which consisted of 1,809 bags, landed at Salem, by the ship *Marquis de Someriuas*. Hence, within the brief period of 47 years, the exports from Brazil have increased to the large amount of 400,000,000 lbs. in 1854, and 320,000,000 in 1853. From 1809 to 1849, or in a period of 40 years, the imports of coffee from Brazil into the United States increased from 1,809 bags to over 100,000,000.

For the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1855, the United States imported from Brazil 135,369,383 lbs. of coffee, of the value of \$11,315,818; other Brazilian products, including some sugars, amounted to \$9,203,117.

Total imports.....	\$15,218,935
Total exports to Brazil.....	4,261,273

Balance of trade against the United States.... \$10,957,662

The imports of coffee alone from Brazil in 1854-'55 exceeded the exports of the United States to that country by \$7,553,545.

The total importation of coffee into the United States for the year ending June 30, 1855, amounted to 190,764,250 pounds, valued at \$16,764,259. For the year ending June, 1856, the quantity has been much larger, and as prices have ruled high, the value has been much greater.

The consumption of coffee has rapidly increased within the past twenty-five years, the greatest augmentation having been in the United States, where it has averaged $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, while in Europe it has been $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, or at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum for the world.

We submit the following tables, showing the production and consumption of coffee for the world at different periods:

Comparative Statement of the production of Coffee in the World at different periods—(The production of one year enters into the consumption of the succeeding year.)

	1848.	1850.	1854.	1855.
Brazil, lbs.	270,000,000	280,000,000	400,000,000	320,000,000
Java	110,000,000	115,000,000	140,000,000	120,000,000
St. Domingo.....	40,000,000	45,000,000	40,000,000	35,000,000
Cuba and Porto Rico	40,000,000	30,000,000	25,000,000	20,000,000
British West Indies.	10,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
Sumatra.....	10,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000
Mocha, &c.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
Ceylon, Ind.....	25,000,000	35,000,000	40,000,000	50,000,000
Venezuela.....	20,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000	20,000,000
Costa Rica.....	5,000,000	7,000,000	8,000,000	9,000,000
Total.....	540,000,000	565,000,000	716,000,000	607,000,000

It will be seen from this table that the greatest increase in 1855 was in Ceylon, a British East India possession, and where its future growth is to be most largely augmented should slavery be overthrown in Brazil; with regard to which attempts have already been made by a member of the Legislature. A bill was introduced for gradual emancipation, but it of course did not pass. The question arises, if negro slavery in Brazil should be overthrown, where will the cultivation of coffee next take refuge? Java cannot materially augment the supplies. There are but two other points, viz: British India and the west coast of Africa. The tree is a native of the latter locality. But we do not believe that the voluntary labor of Africans will produce coffee any better in Africa than it does in St. Domingo and Jamaica. The consumption of the world in time of peace, and increased wealth from the influx of gold, has overtaken the labor of production. The future consumption in England and in the United States is expected to be materially augmented hereafter.

In France, also, owing to the failure of the vintage for several years, the consumption is likely to be increased. The annexed statement shows the present estimated consumption of the world!

United States and British Provinces.....lbs	210,000,000
German Zollverein.....	110,000,000
Austria and other German States.....	75,000,000
Holland and Belgium.....	90,000,000
France, Switzerland, and Southern Europe...	125,000,000
Great Britain.....	40,000,000
Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.....	30,000,000
Russia	15,000,000
Cape of Good Hope, Australia and California.	15,000,000

Total..... 710,000,000

The question of labor, in the production of this and other tropical productions which have become commercial necessities to the populations of the temperate northern latitudes, which embrace the largest civilized portions of the human race, is becoming one of great importance. The growing deficiency must not only continue, but, in

time, greatly enhance the prices of these products, which have become necessities of life, and tend to drain the money from northern sections, in order to secure them—or, in other words, places them under heavy tribute for articles which are, from habit, necessary to their comfort and well being. England, through her East India possessions, is no doubt anxious to secure as large a share of this tribute as possible, and may, to a certain extent, succeed with indigo, sugar and coffee; but she has failed, and will continue to fail, in the production of cotton. The United States have secured, and are likely to keep, and by the aid of England to back the South in securing this indispensable production to her prosperity, as well as the prosperity of Europe and the Northern States of this Union.

The value of slaves in Brazil—the only South American State which has made any great progress, and that through African labor—has for several years steadily increased.

Prior to 1830, when the slave-trade was legal, slaves were sold at 120\$, or \$66. From 1830 to 1850, when the trade was under treaties with England prohibited, and had to be conducted clandestinely, they advanced to 400\$, or \$220. Since 1850, the trade having been almost entirely suppressed, they have gradually advanced, aided by the decimation of five per cent. per annum, to 1,100\$, or \$605, in 1853. Since then, ten per cent., it is estimated has died from cholera, as appears by a recent statement of the Minister of the Empire, and they are now stated to be worth 1,500\$, or \$825 each. It was the low price of slaves prior to 1830 which stimulated the production of coffee, and caused prices to rule so low, which were, in 1835 to 1840 not much over half the present prices.

It takes four to five years to mature coffee trees after planting them, before they will yield a crop of berries; hence, the sudden rise or fall in prices cannot so suddenly influence production, as is the case with annual crops from new plantations of sugar and cotton. At the present time, owing to the high prices of slaves, no new estates can be formed, and none have been for several years; and it is stated that there are not hands enough left in the country to pick out a full crop.

It may be remarked that the rise and fall of tropical productions have fluctuated with the supply of the only labor suitable for their production beneath a tropical sun, and that is African.

The first introduction of African slaves into the United States (then British colonies) was by a Dutch ship, in 1620. From that period until the prohibition of the slave-trade in 1808, the whole number of Africans introduced into the United States did not exceed about 375,000. Of the first cargo sent over, 91 were consigned to British subjects, 88 to Rhode Island, 10 to French subjects, and 12 to natives of Charleston.

We thus find that the Africans in the United States, from this original small number, have increased to 3,204,313, or in the ratio of nearly 8 or 10 to 1; while in the British West Indies, there are not two persons remaining for every five of the imported and their descendants. This is seen from the following statement: There were imported into Jamaica, previously to 1817, 700,000 negroes, of whom

and their descendants but 311,000 remained, after 178 years, to be emancipated in 1833, the date of the British act.

In the whole of the British West Indies there were imported 1,700,000; of whom, and their descendants, but 660,000 remained to be emancipated. (See "Carey on the Slave-trade," and "Compendium of the States Census, 1850, pages 83, 84.") These facts prove that in no part of the world, and whether free or bond, has the African race increased so rapidly as in the United States, which is an irrefragible proof that they have been better treated and better cared for in the United States than anywhere else.

Yet we find a class of fanatics at the North, who are willing to contribute millions to Cuba for sugar, and to Brazil for coffee, piling up an annual balance of trade in the two places of over twenty millions of dollars per annum, to see the slave-trade clandestinely continued—to see the negroes annually decimated—to see St. Domingo and the British West Indies ruined by emancipation; yet they carry on a reckless crusade against their brethren at the South.

The decimation of over one million of Africans in the British West Indies alone they may pass over in silence, but for their Southern brethren, who will not consent to destroy 3,000,000 of contented and well treated Africans by emancipation, they know no bounds to their rage, though their measures, if carried out, would involve ruin to their own section of the country.

Where has emancipation ever succeeded? Where have the blacks ever been raised by it to the civilized condition of the blacks of the United States? In no part of Africa is the increase of population equal to that of the Southern States of North America.

Mr. McCulloch, in his *Geographical Dictionary*, speaking of Hayti, says that, "One of the first effects of the revolution which abolished the slavery of the blacks, was the enormous decrease in the amount of agricultural produce. From 1794, the year in which the slaves were declared free by the National Convention of France, to 1796, the value of exported produce had sunk to 8,606,720 livres, only about five per cent. of what it had been; and seven years afterwards the country had become almost a desert, not so much from the waste of civil war, but also from the indolence of the black population."

Mr. McCulloch, speaking of the effects of emancipation in Jamaica, says that "They devote the principal part of their time to the culture of esculents or other necessities on their own patch of ground, or raise arrow-root, ginger, &c., on speculation, and work on sugar and other estates only when it suits their inclination or convenience. Thus, in some districts, they will only work the four first days of the week; and at critical periods of the crops it is necessary to offer high bribes to get them to leave their homes to assist on other days than Fridays or Saturdays." "The great falling off in the imports from Jamaica is hardly greater than was to have been anticipated. We need not here repeat the statement by which we have already endeavored to show that it is nugatory to expect that the blacks, now that they are emancipated, should voluntarily undertake the labor they were formerly compelled to perform."

England has, to a great extent, made herself independent in the growth of tea, sugar, and coffee, but not in cotton. We are independent in the growth of cotton, but dependent upon other countries for coffee, tea, and in a great degree of sugar. To secure the domestic supply of these articles in sufficient quantities can only be done by the acquisition of tropical territory and the increase and extension of labor.

There are some curious facts regarding the preservation of coffee. It is said that the berries readily imbibe exhalations from other substances, and occasionally acquire an unpleasant flavor. Sugar, placed near the berries, it is said, in a short time impregnates them and injures their flavor.

A few bags of pepper on board a ship bound from India to England, spoiled a whole cargo of coffee.

The process of roasting berries requires care and skill. If burnt, the coffee is spoiled, imparting a bad taste, and making it heavy and indigestible when drank. Again, if underdone, the water fails to extract the nourishing material of the coffee, and its infusion is so weak as to prove unpalatable. In all Cairo, in Egypt, there was said to be but one good coffee parcher. The berries should be roasted until they become of a uniform brown chestnut color.

No family should ever purchase ready ground coffee, which is liable to adulteration with chicory, beans, corn, rye, &c. The berries should be bought green, and parched and ground at home, as wanted.

The article which has been most largely used for the adulteration of coffee is the chicory root, which is a native of England, Germany, and most parts of Europe, and naturalized in the United States. It has a tap root like carrots, and is cultivated something in the same manner, chiefly in Holland, Belgium, and other parts of Germany, where labor is cheap. Females and children are largely employed in its production. The roots on being dug up are sliced and kiln-dried, and afterwards roasted and ground, when it bears a strong resemblance to coffee; and mixed with enough of the latter to flavor it, the deception becomes quite successful. The only resemblance it bears to coffee is in its color, and the only recommendation it has is its cheapness. It is slightly tonic, but contains no nourishment, and only satisfies the appetite by distention when drank. From Germany the article is extensively exported to other countries, and particularly to England and the United States. Its consumption, through adulteration with coffee, in the United States, especially since the advance in the price of coffee, has greatly increased. We know a single German house in New York which has imported, in a single year, 500,000 lbs., and the present annual importation into New York is not less than from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 lbs. Strange to say, notwithstanding these facts, not even the name of chicory appears among the imports of the United States. In the official reports of the imports of the United States, arranged under the head of commerce and navigation, its name is no where to be met with. How is this? Is it imported in another name, or is it smuggled?

How far it can answer as a healthy substitute for coffee may be gathered from learning the chemical composition of the two. Wood

& Bache call it chicory or succory, or the wild endive or *chicorium Inlyteus* of Linæus. It sends up a stalk one to three feet high, which under cultivation rises five or six feet, and sends down a carrotlike tap root which yields a milky juice. Before being adopted for the adulteration of coffee, it was used as a medicinal mild tonic, and was thought to be good as a mild purge, and in jaundice affections. But, whatever weak medical properties it may possess are probably destroyed by roasting and grinding.

Coffee, on the contrary, is found on chemical analysis to contain a highly nutritious element, known as Caffein. This component part of all good coffee is found to contain a larger proportion of nitrogen than any other vegetable principle, and in this respect equaling some of the most highly animalized products. Caffein does not putrify, however, like animal matter. Thus, chemists have discovered by analysis, that coffee contains an element of nourishment similar to animal matter, or to meat, which renders it nutritious as a drink, and of which chicory is wholly destitute; and hence its useless and injurious character as a substitute for coffee. Tea, also, contains an animal principle known as *thein*, which also renders it nourishing as a beverage when good and pure. See Wood & Bush, American Dispensary. Runge, *Berzelius Trait de Chime*.

While good Rio coffee sells at $10\frac{1}{4}$ a $11\frac{3}{4}$ cts., and Java at $14\frac{1}{2}$ cts., chicory, roasted and ground, sells at 4 and 5 cts., and in its green and dried state sells at 1 and 2 cts. per pound. Hence the inducement for the perpetration of the fraud on such an immense scale. It has reached such a pitch that we doubt whether there is a coffee roaster or grinder in New York, Boston, or Philadelphia, that does not sell more or less ground coffee mixed with chicory. Good coffee, well roasted, makes a refreshing and wholesome beverage for infirm and weak people and children.

How cruel, then, is the practice of selling them a parched root, possessing no one property in common with coffee, and not only destitute of all nourishment, but positively injurious if long used. Its wholesale use has, probably, in large cities, contributed to the mortality of the people, and especially of children and aged people, besides aggravating the symptoms of dyspepsia and nervous complaints. Congress should levy 100 per cent. duty on it, so as to make it unprofitable to import it in competition with coffee, and protect the people from such a wholesale and poisonous fraud.

We one day met a man driving a vehicle through the streets of New York, offering the "essence of coffee" for sale, done up in small papers, and for which he asked a round price. We asked him to let us examine a package, to which he consented, and which, on examination, we found to be pure chicory. Yet he was retailing this stuff to poor, ignorant people as the "essence of coffee."

Since writing the above, we have been enabled to give the exports of coffee from Brazil more in detail, and to bring them down to the 1st of July, 1856, and to form some estimates regarding the probable amount of deficiency in the supply for the first and second six months of 1856, which will be seen from the following statement:

Comparative exports of coffee from Rio for the first and second six months of each year 1851 to 1856.

	Jan. 1 to July 1.	July 1 to Dec. 31.
1851, bags.....	1,004,005	1,029,738
1852.....	828,836	1,037,783
1853.....	842,114	795,549
1854.....	788,414	1,199,218
1855.....	1,144,030	1,265,099
Average of five years.....	921,489	1,071,471
1856, Jan. 1, to July 1...	837,776	
Less than average five years.	83,713	
Less than same period 1855	306,254	

July, August, and September are likely to be very moderate in exports, as little old remained, and the new would not be abundant till October. Judging from previous and similar years, the export of these three months will not average over the previous six months, say 139,629 bags, or..... 420,000

The means of transportation being lessened, and the high price of labor being considered, an average of 200,000 bags per month for October, November, and December, would be extreme, say..... 600,000

Making for the last six months, 1856.....	1,020,000
Or less than average of five years.....	51,471
“ “ of 1854, and '55.....	212,143
Actual deficiency of first six months, 1856, bags.....	306,254
Probable deficiency of second six months, 1856, bags.....	212,143

Total deficiency, 1856..... 518,397

THE LOW LANDS OF VIRGINIA.

NO. I

BY A FARMER OF PIEDMONT.

We are indebted to the author for a copy of this paper, which will appear in this and the next number of the Review.

There is a particular branch of statistics, concerning which it is thought desirable that we should have more accurate information than we now possess. Who would not like to know how much *alluvial land*—"low-grounds," as we term it—there may be within the limits of Virginia? Such special inquiry, it seems, did not come within the scope of the Census Bureau at Washington. Its agents were required to distinguish be-

tween "improved" and "unimproved" land. But under the former designation was included all cleared land of whatever grade of fertility, and much of this in Virginia, we know, has been reduced from its original productive capacity. And had the Department attempted the additional distinction here suggested, the effort would have been attended with difficulty, when we regard the State as a whole. The valleys of many of the minor streams in the trans-Alleghany district, it is presumed, are yet clothed with their native forests, and may have been subjected neither to separate instrumental survey, nor to any other than a conjectural estimate of quantity.

This, however, can hardly be the case with the three more eastern divisions of the State. It is believed that there are many counties in each, concerning which this information might be readily obtained. Nor can we conceive why all might not be included in this category, as ordinary obstacles would yield to a proper division of labor. The knowledge to be sought is, we may suppose, already in the possession of individuals, and were it imparted to some one or more in each county, it could with little trouble be digested into proper form and order for public use.

We desire to learn not only how much of such land there may be on our portion of the great Dismal Swamp and the Ocean and Bay shores, but the separate aggregates on the banks of all our larger streams, whether they be rivers of the first or second grade, or the more considerable creeks. Such portions as lie on the lesser creeks and *branches* might be summed up under a distinct head. The islands which skirt our eastern shore and dot our Bay and larger rivers would form a fifth class.

In the first class we would include the borders of the Potomac, (with the Shenandoah and South Branch,) the Rappahannock, the York, with the Pamunkey and Mattaponi, the James, the Roanoke, with the Dan and Staunton, the Ohio, with the Monongahela, both Kanawhas, and the New and Greenbrier rivers.

In the second would be embraced the larger affluents of those in the first class—as the Rapidan, Chickahominy, Appomattox, Rivanna, Nottoway, Meherrin—all, in fine, that are styled rivers. The third, fourth, and fifth are sufficiently defined.

A document embracing all this information would be interesting to the State at large. But in another aspect, the citizens of each separate county would willingly know how much it offers of such land in the several kinds here designated. Certain counties—as Gloucester, Elizabeth City, Nansemond, Southampton, Mecklenburg, Halifax, Goochland, Albemarle,

Berkeley, Hampshire, Rockingham, Augusta, and some others — would exhibit superior natural advantages in this respect; but in others, again, the balance may have been redressed by favorable circumstances of a different kind.

But, it may be asked, *oui bono?* In what benefit would such an inquiry result? Should the querist think such knowledge more curious than useful, we might briefly respond, that if it be deemed wise in an individual to take special account of his most productive, durable, and reliable property, it surely cannot be unbecoming in a State to do the same. But let us look more narrowly into this matter.

That the territory of Virginia is "well watered," a glance at the map will suffice to show. With the Ocean and Bay on her eastern front, and large rivers on her northern and western boundaries, others but little inferior, with their very considerable affluents, intersect the several districts into which it has been divided by nature. But while the transmontane streams seek a western outlet, those of the east descend to the Chesapeake or the Ocean in lines nearly parallel to each other; and this has been thought to forbid that *unity of interest* which tends to build up marts for concentrating produce and commerce. In this view it has been said, with a degree of truth, that "we are cursed with a multitude of blessings." Unlike New York, which has but one principal stream, to which most of the others are tributary, or the States of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama, which are somewhat similarly situated, Virginia has from the first had to contend with an inconvenience that has often thwarted the wisest plans of her purest patriots, or led to questionable compromises for their accomplishment. But however unfavorable this may have been to harmony in legislative or social action, it has certainly furnished a wider basis for agricultural wealth and prosperity.

It would be natural to infer that streams so large and numerous must be bordered by much alluvial land; and this we know to be true from other data, as well as general report. But although Virginia has been occupied and explored by the white man for more than two centuries, who among us has any definite idea of the total quantity in each kind, however just may be his estimate of their position and relative values? Tradition or common report may have carried the knowledge of certain favored localities beyond their immediate neighborhoods or districts, and public advertisement may have informed us of the portions of such soil on particular estates when offered for sale, but we want something fuller and authentic in the same kind concerning our whole State.

For neither the length of rivers, nor their volume of water,

nor the general profile of the country they traverse, furnish any sure index of the breadth of their alluvium. Those within our borders show an indefinite variety in this respect. Were streams confined within a sufficient channel, equal throughout in breadth and depth, descending as they do on an inclined plane, they would seek the shortest line to their mouths, and their valleys would remain as originally formed. But inequalities in these respects give their current a direction to either shore, from which it rebounds at an angle, gradually approaching that of its incidence. If the point of resistance is not made of stubborn materials, it is in time worn away both above and below, until the current is met by a bluff or something equivalent, the soil being carried in solution together with much from above to the opposite bank, or else contributing to the formation of islands in the channel. It is thus that in the course of geologic periods low-grounds are formed, and this alternate motion will account for their total absence at certain points, and for their varying breadth and extent at others and on either shore. To this law our Virginia streams offer no exception; but there is scarcely one of the more important which does not present considerable reaches of alluvial soil, of extent and compactness sufficient, with the aid of the higher grounds adjoining, to constitute one or more valuable estates.

These were eagerly sought by the more sagacious and enterprising of our early settlers, and men of like stamp, in the westward march of our population, have not failed to follow their example. These were the men who gave character to our colony and State, and in this view, the enquiry, as illustrating the extent and progressive development of our resources, is of historical as well as economical interest. Theirs were the lands which contributed to the support of pioneer adventurers of our armies in war, and our citizens in peace, and which furnished a principal share of the exports that swelled our trade. There was a time, indeed, when of them it might be said that *they* were our country—certainly its most desirable part; and when this was no longer the case, their peculiar value has still been recognized. The most striking example of this known to the writer, is the fact that the low-grounds of James river have for half a century been rated at \$100 or more per acre, while the adjoining forests or fields other than the curtilage, have averaged from five to twenty; and similar if not proportional differences may be found elsewhere within our limits. Many of these lands, both above and below the head of tide, were originally in the occupancy and cultivation of the natives, and when these were dispossessed, their fields, with others of a semi-prairie character received the earliest labors of our ancestors. Being already prepared for tillage,

it was thus that they afforded subsistence to our people, while attacking the forest with which other plains, both high and low, as yet were burdened. The early settlers, indeed, finding the whole country in this condition, so different from the general aspect of Europe, from this circumstance alone, formed exaggerated estimates of its general and intrinsic fertility, whereas, many a highland plain has been exhausted of its accumulated stores of vegetable mould by constant cropping and left to recover itself as it might until a more scientific husbandry came to its aid. The lower and more durable lands have ever been the chief attraction that lured the pioneers to the frontier, and when once prepared for the plough have rarely or never been permitted to return to their former State. While the area of upland subject to tillage, has annually varied, and from many causes, that of the alluvia has been so far constant that it has never receded; but with the returning season, each acre has either contributed something to our wants, or been gathering force for a new effort.

And reason good there has ever been for regarding them as the ornament and strength of our territory and the richest boon of Providence to the farmer. But more of this in another number.

THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT KNOXVILLE.

This body convened on the 10th day of August pursuant to adjournment. A brief account of its proceedings will be condensed from the notes of the reporters. Much additional material will be furnished in our next.

The following delegates appeared and took their seats. The list does not include a large number who arrived on the third and fourth days—others neglected to enter their names upon the record. The whole number probably reached one thousand:

ALABAMA.—Nath. Barker, David Hubbard, Jas. H. Dearing, Peter Martin, Geo. Redwood, jr., Dr. James Rumph, Robert A. Nicoll, Alfred Battle, T. J. Frow, Thos. H. Hobbs, L. J. Hale, John Hart, Jas. B. McDonald, Geo. R. Peck, Edgar Garlie, W. D. Hollowell, Thos. A. Walker, B. C. Wyly, H. D. Smith, Moses Cox, P. P. McKee, Seth Mabrey, Thos. P. Parke, A. W. Starke, B. J. Yarrington, Samuel T. Arrington, Wm. L. Allen, W. J. Bibb, W. C. Bibb, W. F. Bush, Andrew Bogle, F. R. Bell, F. S. Blount, T. B. Bethea, Jas. Battle, J. W. Copeland, B. H. Elsbury, S. B. Brown, M. S. Cleveland, H. H. R. Dawson, J. H. Vincent, J. T. Camp, J. W. Pitts, B. T. Sharp, J. H. Clute, W. D. Lea, A. A. Torbett, E. H. Bernhard, W. L. Cain, Thos. Espy, J. B. Farney, A. C. Gordon, Jno. Donahoe, Barton Dickson, James W. Eckel, J. H. Elsbury, C. R. Farley, Nich. Gachet, J. Camp Goodloe, F. Hargrove, W. S. Horr, J. Hardie, W. B. Haroldson, T. M. Johnson, W. H. Ketchum, M. J. A. Keith, B. B. Lewis, C. S. Lucas, J. W. Lapsley, W. J. Ledger, W. T. Minter, G. Wattathews, W. W. Mason, Robt. A. Nicoll, E. D. Nickels, G. E. Wilson, T. Oliver, P. D. Page, E.

Reese, G. W. Tate, H. P. Watson, G. C. Whatley, W. Walker, H. Ware, W. S. Wyman, J. A. Wemyes, J. W. Womach, R. C. Yarrington, J. C. McNabb, J. D. Hoke, Sam'l Jeter, J. A. Jones, R. H. Powell, E. T. Rondall, B. T. Moore, B. L. Posey, J. E. Reese, S. B. Roper, J. W. Suttle, S. B. Sullins, G. S. Malain, T. J. S. Sandford, J. W. Pitta, John Steel.

ARIZONA TERRITORY.—Sylvester Mowry.

ARKANSAS.—E. N. Sanders, J. M. Clay.

FLORIDA.—E. M. Graham, M. A. Long, L. H. Mattair, Gov. Mosley, W. W. McCall, Gov. M. S. Perry.

GEORGIA.—Wm. L. Gordon, Andrew R. Moore, Tolliver Dillard, Robert C. Hardle, R. A. Roberts, Dr. J. N. Simmons, John S. Travis, Jno. Carr Brown, Charles Campbell, J. F. Zimmerman, Edwin Dyer, W. I. Ezzard, H. H. Glenn, Robert Gunby, Thos. R. Greer, T. B. Greenwood, M. A. Hardin, E. D. Hendry, B. F. Hawkins, D. B. Harrell, B. B. Amos, John E. Morgan, J. L. Maddox, C. D. Pullen, M. H. Rachels, Thos. C. Spicer, D. H. Sanders, O. L. Smith, A. H. Stokes, A. M. Sloan, B. M. Smith, T. J. Smith, J. T. Thomas, Geo. H. Thompson, John Thomas, E. Ufford, John G. Whitfield, B. B. de Graffenried, James Herty, J. H. Steele, J. E. Williams, John L. Williams, Robert C. Ward, A. H. Wyche, B. C. Yancey, Y. Z. Anderson, A. Austell, J. Beasley, D. J. Dobbs, Benj'n E. Green, R. F. Moddcox, Frank Moore, R. H. Norris, Wm. A. Pope, W. A. Redding, E. Ufford, Wm. Anderson, A. J. Baggess, J. Boyle, R. M. Bearden, Thos. C. Bonner, Thos. C. Broadus, G. W. Bivins, B. S. Brazeal, A. P. Bears, J. J. Collier, A. Carroll, Wm. C. Darden, G. H. Daniel, J. E. DeFord, S. N. Earee, H. Green, J. G. Gibson, E. S. Hains, A. Harris, S. W. Jones, J. K. Kendrick, T. Hyle, E. B. King, O. A. Lochrane, W. H. Lanier, T. A. Matham, R. L. Litchfield, J. Lewis, R. A. McComb, A. R. McLaughlin, B. T. McKay, B. H. Overby, J. W. Payne, W. A. Rogers, J. P. S. Roland, A. A. Robinson, J. W. Shapard, J. S. Stewart, William B. Swann, Wm. S. Stevens, S. Stillwell, J. S. Stevenson, J. P. Smith, William Taylor, W. L. Wadsworth, J. H. White, J. L. Wimberly, J. T. Wimbery, J. F. Zimmerman, J. G. Reynolds, H. H. Hubbard, Geo. J. Howard, G. R. Knabe, W. E. Lassiter, D. B. Ferris, J. B. Lawrence, J. L. Jones, C. W. Mabry, A. E. Marshall, Alfred Poullain, J. R. Parrott, Lewis Tumlin, W. W. Berrien, Robt. Batey, E. R. Chamberlain, S. C. Elam, E. Fagan, H. P. Farrow, Dr. R. A. Felton, Sam'l Griswold, T. A. Hawkins, S. F. Porter, W. W. Prothro, J. W. Pritchett, W. C. Richardson, E. E. Rayson, R. C. Scott, R. H. Springer, J. C. Skinner, B. M. Willingham.

KENTUCKY.—W. J. Davies.

LOUISIANA.—W. A. Elmore, C. W. Phipps, J. A. Achlen, Jesse A. Bynum, Thos. Cottman, C. deChoiseul, S. E. Vernon, R. Wooldridge, J. D. B. DeBow, Rt. Rev. L. Polk, Hon. John Perkins.

MISSISSIPPI.—T. H. Davis, H. G. Crozier, G. A. Sykes, J. D. Eastin, J. B. McRae, C. A. Williams, G. Frazier, W. R. Cunningham, Thos. Holliday, W. W. Lea, Austin Pollard, R. W. Leigh, R. O. Reynolds, W. C. Richards, C. Sykes, T. G. Blewitt, sr., R. H. Crozier, W. G. Evans, Sam'l Cample, Benj. Griffin, J. B. Tatum, E. S. Gladney.

MARYLAND.—M. W. Clusky, W. Blair Lord, J. F. Anderson, Chas. Webb, Chas. J. Stewart, J. S. Tyson, J. K. Metter, J. S. Bandall, M. H. Umbrugh.

NORTH CAROLINA.—S. M. Murrell, A. S. Merriman, A. Gains, D. Christy.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—J. B. Allston, W. I. Bull, J. H. Baker, G. Buist, W. M. Bratton, E. B. Bryan, B. W. Bradley, J. S. Bowie, W. W. Boyce, A. F. Brown, J. T. K. Belk, I. Coleman, J. R. Critzbug, J. Cohen, J. E. Carew, B. R. Carroll, H. C. Davis, Douglas John, I. M. Dwight, R. E. Ellison, J. C. Edwards, G. P. Elliott, J. S. Fairly, B. M. Force, A. D. Frederick, W. Frederick, D. F. Frederick, A. J. Frederick, A. L. Gillespie, W. D. Gaillard, J. C. Geiger, A. J. Green, Theo. S. Gourdin, F. Gaillard, J. C. Hope, W. F. B. Hainsworth, J. H. Henry, W. D. H. Kirkwood, Sam'l J. Lord, J. A. Meetze, E. C. McLure, J. Morrow, J. Macbeth, D. Malloy, L. M. Montgomery, L. V. Martin, E. C. Mowry, R. S. McCants, A. M. Moreland, S. McCandless, F. Q. McHugh, F. S. Ogden, T. Oliver, J. H. Porcher, J. J. Pope, jr., W. B. Brother, N. C. Porter, W. R. Robertson, O. Reeder, A. B. Rhett, jr., L. W. Spratt, J. Sleighing, jr., H. H. Williams, J. Waties, W. B. Williams, J. H. Witherspoon, N. C. Whetstone, J. H. Williams.

TENNESSEE.—R. H. Armstrong, M. M. Armstrong, Henry Ault, W. P. Baker, W. G. Brownlow, J. R. Cocke, D. Campbell, Dr. R. O. Currey, C. W. Charlton, J. H. Crozier, J. M. Fleming, M. J. Bearden, F. S. Heiskell, C. W. Jones, A. M. Lea, T. C. Lyon, J. A. Mabry, Wm. B. Reese, jr., Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, Hon. Wm. B. Reese, P. L. Rodgers, Dr. J. Rodgers, Hon. Wm. H. Sneed, Hon. Wm. G. Swan, C. F. Trigg, O. P. Temple, E. C. Trigg, S. A. White, Col. J. Williams, A. L. Maxwell, J. M. White, J. J. Craig, F. K. Bell, P. H. Coffee, A. M. Piper, J. F. Pearl, J. A. Richardson, F. Titus, T. J. Powell, R. Bond, W. Bond, A. A. Barnes, J. C. M. Bogle, J. Easley, J. H. Cowan, Wm. M. Cocke, S. C. Champman, A. P. Caldwell, Gen. Caswell, Wm. H. Clarkson, Wm. Cross, J. Caldwell, D. H. Cummings, J. W. Dunn, P. Dickinson, J. M. Duff, F. Esperandieu, A. R. Edmonds, L. D. Franklin, J. Fain, J. C. Fleming, G. C. Gray, Wm. M. Gray, G. M. Hazen, R. H. Hodsdon, Lewis R. Hurst, H. D. Hall, Matt. Hillsman, J. Jackson, J. James, R. J. Jarnagin, J. W. Kelsoe, H. W. King, H. Liggett, jr., Wm. G. McAdoo, J. Martin, J. H. Martin, J. B. Martin, D. Morris, M. C. Moore, P. M. McClung, H. Maynard, J. L. McDaniel, C. N. Orsway, R. G. Payne, Will. Peak, J. M. Rice, M. L. Patterson, C. Powell, J. Ross, O. Rice, S. A. R. Swan, F. A. R. Scott, H. P. Shannon, J. Shannon, Jas. Z. Swan, J. T. Shirley, P. H. Thompson, T. Nixon Van Dyke, J. G. Whitson, J. White, Wm. B. Williams, R. T. Wilson, U. L. Wright, W. H. Whitson, J. R. Brown, F. M. Wyley, D. K. Young, Herman Bokum, H. W. King, J. C. Luttrell, J. Osborne, Rolfe Saunders, Henry Schwing, Anthony S. Camp, J. A. Whitesides, N. G. Warthen, W. M. Churchwell, G. M. Burthu, J. H. Bills, Jas. Britt, J. P. Brown, Frank Bogart, J. H. Brinkley, S. Y. Brown, G. W. Barnet, John Brazelton, S. J. Brown, J. A. Coffee, J. L. Cary, A. R. Crozier, R. J. Chester, C. G. Crozier, H. T. Cox, H. E. Dodson, D. S. Dunn, H. Fain, R. D. Goodwyre, Jas. Goddard, S. M. Gaines, A. B. Graham, J. B. Heiskell, Jas. Henry, R. J. Hays, J. C. Jones, Chas. King, J. T. Lenoir, Benj. Little, W. W. Lyon, C. M. Keith, P. Millett, J. A. McKinney, W. Moulden, J. W. Morgan, J. Netherland, J. Naff, Miles Owen, R. G. Payne, W. H. Patton, Gen. G. J. Pillow, W. H. Polk, E. H. Porter, W. D. Printz, G. B. Peters, A. J. Rose, W. F. Ragsdale, J. C. Warner, J. M. Robinson, A. S. Camp, Will. L. Scott, J. P. Senter, G. P. Straley, A. Sartain, J. Thompson, J. M. Toole, Wm. Upton, J. C. Vaughn, J. C. Young, Pryor Tyol, T. H. Callo-way, Dr. Cunningham, J. H. Dosser, W. Y. C. Humes, Wm. Jack, C. J. McKinney, W. L. Perry, J. M. Rankin, Gen. A. E. Smith, J. W. Gaut.

VIRGINIA.—W. M. Burwell, J. England, J. Jones, W. E. Arnold, G. Bramble, D. B. Chratwood, P. Calhoun, W. W. Bragg, J. R. Branch, R. O. Britton, C. R. Gandy, T. G. Gatch, J. B. Gaddess, R. W. Harrison, J. M. Jarvis, W. R. Johnson, A. J. Leavenworth, C. D. Town, J. L. Mun, A. McDonald, G. Lewton, S. O. Reid, A. A. Ruckner, T. B. Drane, jr., H. B. Reardon, W. M. Semple, A. S. Smith, B. T. Tinsley, W. R. King, J. R. Todd, A. A. Todd, E. Calentine, W. D. White, W. L. Watkins, G. Williamson, J. H. Wilson, A. J. Barnes, G. M. Bain, jr. J. G. Hatton, J. G. Hollady, A. D. Kelly, J. M. Miles, H. V. Wierne, A. Simmons, D. J. Lanier, J. R. Chambless, J. H. Cooper, W. T. Lundy, J. A. Muir, W. H. Walker, J. T. P. Bosseau, E. L. Lumford, N. T. Rives, J. H. Smith, C. Corling, A. Dunn, T. H. Archer, A. J. Barnes, J. T. Anderson, J. W. Anderson, W. T. Bachus, J. Brown, K. Biggs, M. W. Fisher, E. R. Hunter, J. P. Leigh, jr., C. K. Grandy, E. Laconture, C. B. Claiborne, Col. J. L. Carrington, Sam'l C. Bonnan, S. L. Ewbank, J. T. Francis, Thos. A. Hardy, Geo. Hardy, T. H. Johnstone, W. R. Terry, J. H. Everett, A. M. Appling, J. P. Sleigh, jr., J. Cocke, L. C. P. Cowper, J. B. Carey, R. J. Echols, D. D. Fiske, W. C. Flournoy, M. W. Fisher, J. Fuqua, C. A. Grier, T. M. Greenway, W. P. Griffith, E. P. Griffith, G. W. Grice, D. Griffith, A. B. Garland, T. C. Gale, W. T. Griffith, H. C. Gibbons, S. E. Goodson, L. J. Gogerty, G. A. O. Gallaher, J. E. Heath, A. L. Hill, G. Henderson, E. A. Hatton, T. Hunt, jr., P. E. B. C. Henritze, E. T. Hardy, T. Hoggard, J. H. Johnson, T. F. Jones, A. D. Kelly, H. A. Lepage, W. Lamb, A. G. T. Litchfield, W. H. Lemorin, M. Meyers, C. Y. Morris, B. B. Minor, R. A. Pryor, G. W. Peete, J. P. Reynolds, W. Roland, jr., J. R. Ricks, T. Scott, J. Schoolfield, R. M. Starke, L. W. Smith, W. A. Thomas, T. Tabb, L. W. Webb, U. Wells, J. L. White, D. S. Walton, E. M. Watts, S. Bonsal, S. H. Webb, J. T. Young, M. P. Young, J. Lyons, S. R. Borum, S. M. Brooks, W. H.

Briggs, J. B. Dupuy, Sam'l C. Donnan, A. K. Moore, S. R. Nemsun, H. C. Roberts, Jas. R. Scott, J. B. Watkins, W. A. Smith, L. A. Bargie, M. C. Daughtry, J. T. Martin, W. G. Mann, J. A. Turner, W. D. Wood, G. W. Starke, W. R. Terry.

The Mayor of Knoxville called the Convention to order, and moved that JAMES LYONS, of Virginia, be appointed temporary Chairman. Mr. WM. M. SEMPLÉ, of Virginia, was appointed temporary Secretary.

The following committee was appointed to report permanent officers and rules for the Convention:

Col. O. Lochraine, A. A. Robinson, Georgia; J. A. S. Acklen, J. M. Vernon, Louisiana; John S. Tyson, W. Blair Lord, Maryland; W. W. McCall, Hon. M. S. Perry, Florida; A. S. Merriman, A. Gaines, North Carolina; Hon. W. J. Bull, B. R. Carroll, South Carolina; John W. Womack, C. S. Lucas, Alabama; Thomas H. Davis, R. O. Reynolds, Mississippi; O. P. Temple, John Martin, Tennessee; R. A. Pryor, Jefferson T. Martin, Virginia; William Saunders, Col. M. G. Clay, Arkansas.

A communication was then read from Gen. Gadsden, of South Carolina, recommending to the Convention the admission of Lieut. Sylvester Mowry, from Arizona, as a delegate from that portion of the Mexican purchase.

The Convention then adjourned until 4 o'clock, p. m. On assembling in the afternoon, the committee on organization reported the following Officers, which report was unanimously adopted:

FOR PRESIDENT,

J. D. R. DeBow, of Louisiana.

FOR VICE PRESIDENTS.

Hon. Wm. H. Sneed, of Tennessee.
Col. T. A. Latham, of Georgia.
Col. T. G. Blewitt, of Mississippi.
Gov. Wm. D. Mosely, of Florida.
A. S. Merriman, of North Carolina.
J. M. Vernon, of Louisiana.

W. R. Robertson, of South Carolina.
Col. Jno. R. Chambliss, of Virginia.
Col. M. J. Clay, of Arkansas.
J. S. Tyson, of Maryland.
Col. S. L. Arrington, of Alabama.

FOR SECRETARIES.

B. B. Degraffenreid, of Georgia.
D. Gray, of Tennessee.
O. L. Smith, of Georgia.
P. D. Page, of Alabama.
R. W. Leigh, of Mississippi.
M. Whit Smith, of Florida.

A. Gaines, of North Carolina.
C. W. Phillips, of Louisiana.
B. W. Brady, of South Carolina.
W. Lamb, of Virginia.
Wm. Saunders, of Arkansas.
W. Blair Lord, of Maryland.

Mr. DeBow, on taking the chair, addressed the Convention at some length.

[The positions taken by him, and the argument made, are identically such as will be found in the opening paper of this number of the Review, though the lateness of the hour prevented him from going through every part of the subject. He prefers that the paper should go out as the speech that was intended, *entire*, and that no other synopsis should appear in this place except that which was made by one of the reporters, as follows:]

He remarked, that if there could be a moment in his life prouder than another, it would be that in which he was called upon to preside over a body comprising the intelligence and patriotism of the South. He alluded to the

able manner in which the retiring President (Mr. LYONS) had presided over the deliberations of the body, and his remarks were received with loud applause. These conventions, he said, had fixed the vacillating and given strength to the doubting. Our statesmen no longer deprecated and apologized; but, conscious of the justice of their cause, threw themselves upon their rights in the Constitution. It was true that large practical results had not flowed directly from these meetings, but the deliberations had given spirit to the South, which was manifesting itself.

The 10,000,000 of whites and 4,000,000 slaves in the South make as large a population as Great Britain possessed at the time of the Revolution; and our area is equal to that of all Europe, excepting Russia and Turkey. What, then, do we lack? We have that potent power, the cotton bale—that power which makes the treaties of the world, and binds them fast. Our commerce is increasing, and, as an evidence of it, the speaker said he had recently met three gentlemen in Charleston, S. C., who could name twenty-two vessels owned by them, and engaged in the foreign carrying trade. The great chain of railroad between Charleston and Memphis is completed. The Pacific railroad is being rapidly completed at the South; two conventions, at Bristol and Old Point, backed by millions of capital, have recently endorsed schemes for Southern ocean trade, and everything is looking towards an awakening among our people.

Southern literature and education, too, are progressing. That great institution, the University of Virginia, it is said, will, next session, have 800 students from the South within its walls. Let us, then, encourage every enterprise which conduces to our benefit; demand an equal distribution of the mail service from the General Government; ask that the fleet be recalled from the coast of Africa, for the protection of the Tehuantepec route; use unceasing, untiring energy, and we will become what nature destined us for.

Mr. MASON, of Alabama, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That all editors and reporters of papers friendly to the objects of this Convention, and none other, be invited to take seats on this floor.

Mr. LAPSLEY, of Florida, moved to amend the resolution, by striking out the words "and none other."

Mr. McCALL, of Florida, moved to lay the resolution and amendment on the table.

Mr. LYONS, of Virginia, moved to strike out all after the word "resolved," and insert, in lieu thereof, a request to the editors and reporters present to take seats on this floor.

The question then came up on the motion to strike out, which was lost.

The original resolution, as amended, was then up for the vote.

Mr. ROGER A. PRYOR rose, and spoke of the conduct of the Northern press, which, but a few months ago, were supporting Fremont, and villifying and abusing the South and her institutions. He was opposed to paying the representatives of these papers a compliment, by placing them in the same position with the Southern reporters, and would move to lay the resolution on the table. If these persons chose to report the proceedings of the Convention, they could do so; but he was opposed to paying them the compliment of inviting them to do it.

The motion to lay on the table was carried.

A resolution was adopted that, in voting on all questions, each State be entitled to the number of votes it has in the electoral college.

It was ordered that a committee of three be appointed, by each State represented, as a Committee of Business.

The Convention then adjourned to 9 o'clock the following morning.

SECOND DAY.

Convention opened by prayer from the Rev. Mr. MARTIN, of Tennessee.

The following members of the Committee on Business, as nominated by their respective delegations, were appointed by the Chair:

Alabama.—Wylie W. Mason, W. J. Ledgard, and T. B. Bethea.

Louisiana.—Bishop Polk, J. A. S. Achlon, and C. W. Philips.

Maryland.—John S. Tyson, Charles Webb, and M. Herbert Umbaugh.

Mississippi.—John D. Eastin, Columbus Sykes, and R. O. Reynolds.

North Carolina.—A. S. Merriman, T. W. Murrell, and D. Christy.

South Carolina.—L. W. Spratt, E. B. Bryan, and James H. Williams.

Tennessee.—W. R. Caswell, A. R. Crozier, and F. Titus.

Virginia.—James Lyons, Myer Myers, and J. T. Anderson.

Mr. E. B. BRYAN, of S. C., submitted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the eighth article of the treaty of Washington, ratified on the 10th of November, 1842, ought to be annulled, under the provision of the first clause of the eleventh article of said treaty.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution be sent, by the President of this Convention, to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from each State here represented, with the request that it be laid before the legislatures of their respective States for their consideration.

(The eighth article above referred to provides for the keeping of a squadron on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade; and the eleventh article provides that after five years from the ratification of this treaty, it shall continue in force until one or the other of the parties shall signify a wish to terminate it.)

Mr. GRICE, of Va., moved to lay the resolution on the table, but withdrew his resolution at the request of

Mr. BRYAN, who moved to refer them to the Committee on Business.

Mr. REESE, of Tenn., renewed the motion to lay upon the table.

Upon this motion, Mr. BRYAN called for a scale vote, which was ordered.

The question was then taken by States, upon laying the resolutions upon the table, and it was not agreed to as follows:

Yeas.—Kentucky, 12 votes; Tennessee, 12; North Carolina, 10; and Maryland, 8.—42.

Nays.—Alabama, 9 votes; Arkansas, 4; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; Virginia, 15; Mississippi, 7; South Carolina, 8; and Louisiana, 6.—62.

Mr. LYONS, of Va., presented a communication from John B. Jones, in relation to the maintenance of a Southern press in the city of Philadelphia, which was read and referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. MARTIN, of Tenn., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That no member of this Convention be permitted to speak longer than 20 minutes on any question, and not more than twice upon any question.

Mr. SMITH, of Ala., moved to amend by inserting at the end of the first clause of the resolution, the words, "unless by the consent of the Convention," which amendment was accepted by the mover.

After some discussion, on motion of Hon. Wm. H. POLK, of Tenn., the resolution was laid upon the table.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of S. C., offered sundry resolutions in relation to the expediency of fortifying the harbor of Port Royal, in South Carolina, and making it a coaling station for the larger steamers of the United States.

Mr. BLOUNT, of Ala., moved to amend by inserting the name of Mobile, Alabama, which was accepted by the mover.

The resolutions were then referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. YANCY, of Geo., offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That editors and newspaper reporters from States, represented in this Convention, be invited to seats in the Convention as reporters.

Resolved, That all other editors and newspaper reporters present, from States not represented, may apply for the privilege of admission as reporters by means of a resolution introduced by some member applicable to each particular case.

Mr. YANCY said that he offered these resolutions as a compromise. It admitted Southern editors and reporters at once, and while it did not exclude those from the North, it required that each individual name should be presented and decided on according to its merits or demerits.

Mr. BOYCK, of S. C., suggested that under the rules of the Federal House of Representatives, which had been adopted for the government of the Convention, the presiding officer was authorized to admit such reporters as he should deem proper.

Mr. YANCY considered that only those rules relating to Parliamentary law had been adopted, and not the special rules of which that in relation to the admission of reporters was one.

Mr. BLOUNT, of Ala., offered the following substitute:

Resolved, That the President of this Convention be authorized to admit editors of newspapers and reporters to seats upon the floor of this Convention.

Mr. B. said, that in selecting an officer to preside over the deliberations, it was to be presumed that he was capable of performing the duties of his station, and fully understood the interests confided to his care. He had perfect confidence in their officer, and as this duty was confided to the presiding officer of the Congressional House of Representatives, he was in favor of, in like manner, confiding it to the presiding officer of this Convention.

Mr. PRYOR, of Va., was in favor of the resolution without amendment. He was willing to consider the fact that a newspaper was published in the South was *prima facie* evidence that its editor and reporter were friendly to the leading objects of this Convention. But it was unfortunately the fact that editors and reporters of the North, were to be considered as unfriendly to the South, and, therefore, he was for having each individual stand upon his own merits. If any member desired to have a Black Republican editor attend their meetings, let him take the responsibility of proposing him.

The amendment was not agreed to.

Mr. J. T. MARTIN, of Va., offered the following substitute:

Resolved, That the reporters of Southern presses be requested to occupy appropriate seats in this Convention, and to report accurately and truly its proceedings and deliberations.

Mr. YANCY accepted the amendment.

Mr. McRAE, of Miss., offered the following as a substitute:

Resolved, That the members of the entire press of all the States of this Union, and of any other country, be admitted as reporters of the proceedings of this Convention.

Mr. McRAE did not wish to shackle the press; there was a press in the South able and ready to defend her interests against the attacks of Northern abolition presses, and he was willing to trust to them to present the truth to the country.

Mr. COCKE, of Tenn., endorsed the sentiments of the gentleman from Miss. He was confident that nothing would be said or done in this Convention which they need be ashamed to hear reported in any of the Northern or Southern papers.

Mr. YANCY said it grated harshly upon his ear to hear a delegate of the gallant State of Mississippi favor the extension of civilities by the Southern Commercial Convention to a Black Republican editor. He was willing to trust the President of the Convention in this matter, as he knew him to be true to the South. But he did not desire to have the Convention extend this civility to the editors of the Black Republican papers. He had accepted the substitute of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Martin,) as a mere provision, and hoped it would be adopted.

Mr. BROWNLOW, of Tenn., said, that having been alluded to in this discussion by name, he felt it incumbent upon him to respond in a few words. He was in favor of admitting any and all reporters. If his satanic majesty were to send a reporter let him be admitted.

The question was, upon the amendment of Mr. McKay, of Mississippi, to allow all reporters and editors to attend the sittings of the Convention.

The question being taken, the President announced that the amendment had been adopted.

A member from Virginia called for a vote upon the amendment.

The President decided that the result had been announced by the chair. Mr. Yancy, of Georgia, appealed from the decision of the chair, and upon that question called for a vote by States, which was ordered.

The question was stated to be—Shall the decision of the chair stand as the judgment of the Convention?

The question was then taken, and the decision of the chair sustained. Yeas 85, nays 19, as follows:

Ayes.—Arkansas, 4; Tennessee, 12; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 6; South Carolina, 8; North Carolina, 10; Maryland, 8; Virginia, 14; Florida, 3; and Kentucky, 12—85.

Nays.—Alabama, 9; Georgia, 10—19.

The resolution as amended was then adopted.

Mr. CHURCHWELL, of Tenn., offered a resolution that the Convention recommend to the Governor of each of the Southern States to appoint five delegates to present the subject of the steam ferry as proposed by A. Dudley Mann, and which was endorsed by the Convention at Savannah, to the people of the Southern States, and solicit stock for the same, which stock should be represented in a Convention to be held for the purpose of electing officers to manage and control said company at such time and place as said delegates may select.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. BOYCE, of S. C., offered a resolution in relation to the repeal of duties on imports, and the establishment of a system of direct taxation.

Referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. MOWRY, of Arizona, offered a resolution asking that the Convention would endorse the application of the inhabitants of that portion of the Gadsden purchase known as Arazona, for a territorial government, &c. Referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. PRYOR, of Va., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Legislatures of all the slave-holding States to pass acts exempting one or more slaves in the hands of each slaveholder from liability for debts contracted after the passage of said acts.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of Va., moved that the resolution be adopted, and spoke at considerable length in its favor.

Mr. UMBAUGH, of Md., was in favor of the resolution, but was opposed to the establishment of the precedent of acting upon such matters without their being considered by a committee. He therefore moved the resolution be referred to the Committee on Business, which was agreed to.

— EVENING SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at four o'clock P. M., and was called to order by the President.

Mr. STARK, of Ala., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That as a means of raising a sufficient fund to defray the expenses of publishing in pamphlet form the full proceedings of this Convention, each delegate of the Convention be and is hereby requested to contribute the sum of one dollar for that purpose.

Resolved, That a committee of five be straightway appointed by the chair, charged with the duty of collecting these contributions from the members; also to complete the necessary arrangements for the prompt publication of the report.

The resolutions were adopted.

The President announced the following as the members of the committee:

Messrs. Starke, of Alabama; De Graffenried, of Georgia; Pryor, of Virginia
O. L. Smith, of Georgia; and Fleming, of Tennessee.

The President also stated that the chairman of each delegation would confer a favor by collecting the contributions from their several delegations, and handing the same over to the committee.

Mr. FUQUA, of Va., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Business be instructed to take into consideration the navigation laws of the U. S., and report to this Convention what changes therein are necessary to place the commercial marine of Europe upon the same footing, in the coasting trade of our country, with our own.

Referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. J. B. ALLSTON, of S. C., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention suggests and recommends to the merchants, capitalists, and commercial men of the South the importance, alike political and commercial, and the great advantage to be derived from establishing and increasing the direct trade between the ports of the South, France, and the Mediterranean, and those of the principal Southern States of this Union.

Referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. W. C. FLOURNOY, of Va., offered the following resolution:

Be it resolved by this Convention, That the scheme of Mr. A. Dudley Mann, to establish a steam ferry line for the transportation of persons, produce, and manufactured goods, between the waters of the Chesapeake and Milford Haven, be approved by this Convention, and we hereby pledge ourselves to use our best exertions to accomplish the objects thereby indicated.

Mr. FLOURNOY said, that as he was compelled to leave the Convention after to-day, he was anxious to place himself upon the record of the Convention in favor of the scheme of Mr. Mann, and, therefore, he would ask for the immediate consideration of his resolution. Mr. M. then proceeded to argue at length in favor of the proposition of Mr. Mann.

Mr. BLOUNT, of Ala., spoke at considerable length in opposition to the resolution.

Mr. FLOURNOY replied.

Mr. HUNTER, of Norfolk, Va., moved that the speech of Mr. Mann, delivered in the Old Point Convention, be referred to the Committee on Business, which was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. DEAN, of Va., the resolution was referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. LYONS, of Va., from the Committee on Business, reported back to the Convention the resolutions offered by Mr. Bryan, of South Carolina, this morning, in relation to withdrawing the U. S. squadron from the coast of Africa.

The question was upon the adoption of the resolutions.

Mr. E. B. BRYAN, of S. C., spoke at length in favor of the resolutions, and without concluding, gave way to a motion to postpone the further consideration of the resolutions, and make them the special order for to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock.

The motion to postpone was agreed to.

Mr. LYONS, from the Committee on Business, reported back the resolutions offered by Mr. Elliott, of S. C., in relation to fortifying the harbors of Port Royal, South Carolina, and Mobile, Alabama, and making them the coaling stations of the large steamers of the Government.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of S. C., spoke at considerable length in favor of the resolutions.

Mr. BULL, of S. C., moved to postpone the further consideration of the resolutions until to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, and that they be made the special order at that time.

Mr. ANDERSON, of Va., thought that as no opposition had been expressed to the resolutions, it would be well to act upon them at once.

Mr. BULL said that he wanted time to examine them. He did not know now

whether he was opposed to the resolutions or not, but desired opportunity to examine them.

The motion to postpone was not agreed to.

On motion of Mr. MEERIMAN, of N. C., the name of Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina, was inserted in the resolution after the name of Mobile, Alabama.

The resolutions as amended were then adopted.

Mr. PRYOR, of Va., offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That as the sense of this Convention, all laws granting bounties to those engaged in the fisheries, on our Northeastern coast, should be immediately repealed, said laws being unequal, oppressive, and unjust to the South.

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives of the South, in the next Congress, be requested to use every effort to procure said repeal at the earliest moment.

Mr. HUBBARD, of Ala., moved to amend the first resolution by striking out the words "to the South," at the close of the resolution. He considered the fishery bounty laws as unjust to every part of the country except that portion of the country immediately engaged in the fisheries. He did not wish to make a sectional complaint, when it could be made a general one.

Mr. PRYOR accepted the amendment.

The resolutions were then referred to the Committee on Business.

Mr. J. J. POPE, Jr., of S. C., offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the establishment of lines of steamships for the conveyance of passengers and produce between Southern ports and foreign ports forms part of the commercial development of the South.

Resolved, That as the building of railroads has been deemed necessary for internal intercourse and commerce between the different Southern States, and the same has been fostered by public aid from the respective States, so the commercial intercourse of the South with foreign nations is also entitled to similar public aid and consideration.

Resolved, That with the large capital and facilities for business, and the establishment of avenues of trade of leading Northern ports, the commerce of the South with foreign nations can only be diverted to herself by the temporary sacrifice of capital in the establishment and early maintenance of her enterprise, and to secure these ends public aid is necessary.

Resolved, That copies of the above resolutions be sent to the Legislatures of the different Southern States.

Referred to the Committee on Business.

On motion the Convention then adjourned.

THIRD DAY.

Prayer by the Rev. R. H. OVERBY, of Georgia.

The journal of yesterday was read and approved.

The President laid before the Convention a communication from Mayor Chase, of Pensacola, Florida, in relation to the necessity of increased labor in this country and the means of opening a source of supply to meet the demand.

The communication was read and referred to the Committee on Business.

The names of Messrs. Lochrain and Cunningham were substituted for those of Messrs. Wyche and Gunby, on the Georgia representation in the Business Committee.

Mr. YANCEY, of Ga., rose to a personal explanation in relation to the report of his remarks which appeared in the morning paper of this city.

The hour for the special order having arrived, it was taken up for consideration.

The special order was the consideration of the resolutions of Mr. Bryan, of S. C., in relation to the withdrawal of the United States Squadron from the Coast of Africa.

Mr. BRYAN resumed the remarks began on yesterday. He commenced by saying that he had understood that many gentlemen of the Convention were

under the impression that the object of the resolutions he had offered was neither more nor less than to procure the re-opening of the African slave-trade. He would state distinctly and emphatically that such was not his object. His was a distinct and isolated proposition. The question of the African slave-trade would, when the time came, be thrust upon the people of the South whether they devised it or not. The present was not the time for that, all he desired was to bring forward some proposition upon which the whole South could unite in advance, so as to divert the morbid sentiment that would otherwise arise, and turn the minds of the Southern people in the proper channel.

The gentleman then concluded his argument in favor of annulling the treaty of Washington, of 1842, and presented facts and statistics to show that the parties to that treaty had totally failed to secure the object professed.

Pending the remarks of Mr. Bryan—

Mr. LYONS, of Va., from the Committee on Business, made a report upon various matters referred to them.

The Committee asked to be discharged from the further consideration of communications referred to them upon the subject of peace.

The Committee reported back the following resolutions and recommended that they be adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, That the present discrimination of the General Government in favoring lines of foreign mail service, starting from Northern points, is unwarranted and unjust; and that as an act of equal justice our representatives in Congress be requested to insist that the same amount of encouragement, under the same conditions, be granted to any company or companies which may be founded for the purpose of sustaining lines of route service from ports of the South.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the president of this Convention, to memorialize the legislatures of the Southern States in furtherance of the subjects set forth in the foregoing resolution.

They also report back the resolutions of Mr. Pope, of South Carolina.

Mr. LYONS also reported back the following resolution, offered by Mr. Churchwell, of Tenn., and asked that the committee be discharged from its further consideration.

Resolved, That this Convention recommend and request the Governors of the several Southern States to appoint five Delegates for each State—whose duty it shall be to present the subject of the *Steam Ferry across the Atlantic*—(proposed by the Hon. A. Dudley Mann, and endorsed by this Convention at Savannah; to be established for the building up of Southern commerce and the better development and protection of Southern interest) to the people of their respective States, soliciting stock for the same, to be represented in a Convention which shall be called by said Delegates at such time and place as they may select for the purpose of organization.

Mr. LYONS stated that the committee had decided upon the above report, and subsequently, Mr. Mann, jr., appeared before them, and explained the subject to them, after which the committee would have reconsidered their previous action had they had the parliamentary power to do so. He would suggest to the mover of the resolution that his object could be attained by moving to recommit the above resolution to the committee with instructions that they reconsider their action upon it.

Mr. LYONS reported from the committee resolutions recommending that the next session of this Convention be held in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, on the second Monday of May, 1858.

The committee also recommend the Convention to adopt sundry resolutions encouraging Southern manufactures, and merchants who import directly from abroad.

The committee also recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Legislatures of all the slave-holding States to pass acts exempting one or more slaves in the hands of each slaveholder, from liability for debts contracted after the passage of said acts.

The committee also recommend that the following resolution be rejected by the Convention.

Resolved, That the indirect system of taxation by duties on imports should be abandoned by the Federal Government, and that direct taxation should be resorted to exclusively; thus securing entire free trade, perfect equality in the burdens of taxation and the utmost economy in the administration of the Government.

The consideration of the special order was then resumed.

Mr. GLADNEY, of Miss., offered the following resolution by way of substitute:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention slavery is neither a moral, social, nor political evil, and therefore is not a proper subject of prohibition by legislation.

Resolved, That the slave-trade, being a transfer of slaves from one master to another, is not in itself wrong, and is not therefore a proper subject of prohibition, and that the attempt to suppress the African slave-trade having resulted in more evil than good, the South ought not to be taxed to support a police navy for its suppression.

Resolved, That we recognize, in the domestic institutions of the South, that form of Government best adapted to the African race, most conducive to the permanency of our republican institutions, and the great commercial interests of the world, and that as such it is the duty of the christian and the patriot to improve and sustain them.

Resolved, That the Southern States possess all the advantages in soil, climate, harbors, rivers, water-power, and commercial resources capable of making them the most independent people on the globe, and that it is our duty to develop them by all the means in our power.

Resolved, That the great evils which threaten our Union, are the results of vicious theories and principles propagated by books, periodicals, newspapers, literary, and theological institutions, and that the South ought to publish her own books, and support her own reviews, periodicals, and literary and theological institutions.

Mr. BRYAN, of S. C., asked if it was competent for him, as the mover of the resolutions, to withdraw them at any time?

The President decided that the resolutions having been referred to a committee, and been reported back by them, they were now in the possession of the Convention, and could only be disposed of by some direct action of the Convention.

Mr. SNEED, of Tenn., desired to move an amendment to the first of the original series of resolutions, in order to perfect them before the question was taken upon the substitute proposed by the gentleman from Miss., (Mr. Gladney.) He, therefore, moved to amend, by inserting after the words, "in the opinion of the Convention," the words, "it is inexpedient and contrary to the settled policy of this country to repeal the laws prohibiting the African slave-trade, yet;" so the resolution would read:

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Convention it is inexpedient and contrary to the settled policy of this country to repeal the laws prohibitory of the African slave-trade, yet the eighth article of the treaty of Washington, ratified on the 10th of November, 1842, ought to be annulled, under the provision of the first clause of the eleventh article of said treaty.

The subject was discussed by Messrs. Gladney, of Miss., Carroll, of S. C., Payne, of Tenn., Spratt, of S. C., and Strake, of Ala.

Pending the remark of Mr. Starke, of Ala., the gentleman gave way to a resolution to postpone the further consideration of the subject until this afternoon at half past three o'clock, which was agreed to.

Mr. LYONS from the Committee on Business, made reports on the following subjects:

The committee asked to be discharged from the further consideration of the document of Mr. Chase, of Pensacola, Florida, upon the labor problem, as the subject was not one that the Convention could now properly consider.

The committee also recommend that the Convention reject the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the legislatures of the different States that they lay a tax upon all articles of merchandize used in Southern States, which are manufactured in States which refuse to support the fugitive slave law.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the President of this Convention, to bring this resolution to the notice of the Governors of Southern States.

The committee also recommend the adoption of the resolutions asking the Convention to recommend to the favorable consideration of Congress, the application of the inhabitants of that portion of Gadsden purchase known as Arizona, for a form of Territorial government, the establishment of a post route to the Pacific, &c.

The Convention then took a recess until half past three o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at half past three o'clock, and was called to order by the President.

Mr. STARKE, of Ala., concluded his remarks upon the special order.

Mr. SNEED, of Tenn., advocated his amendment.

Mr. BOYCE, of S. C. spoke against the feasibility and propriety of re-opening the African slave-trade.

Mr. SMITH, of Ala., and Mr. CAMPBELL, of Va., further discussed the question.

Mr. BROWN, of S. C., moved to lay the whole subject on the table—not agreed to.

The previous question was then ordered.

The question was upon the amendment offered by Mr. Sneed, of Tennessee.

Upon this question, Mr. BRYAN, of S. C., called for a vote by States, which was taken with the following result:

Yeas.—Georgia, 10; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 10; and Tennessee, 12.—40.

Nays.—Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 4; Florida, 3; Louisiana, 6; Mississippi, 7; South Carolina, 8; and Virginia, 15.—52.

The amendment was rejected.

The question was then taken upon the resolution of Mr. Bryan, of S. C., which was adopted by the following vote:

Yeas.—Arkansas, 4; Georgia, 10; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 6; Alabama, 9; Maryland, 4; Virginia, 15; Florida, 3; and South Carolina, 8.—66.

Nays.—Tennessee, 12; North Carolina, 10; and Maryland, 4.—26.

Mr. LYONS, of Va., from the committee on business made sundry reports which the Convention proceeded to consider.

The first was a resolution recommending the encouragement of Southern manufactures, and merchants who deal in the manufactures of the South, and goods imported directly from abroad, which was adopted.

The next was the following resolution:

Resolved, That the system of taxation by duties on imports should be abandoned by the Federal Government, and direct taxation should be resorted to exclusively, thus securing entire free trade, perfect equality in the burdens of taxation, and the utmost economy in the administration of the Government.

The committee recommended that the resolution be rejected.

Mr. FLOURNOY, of Va., spoke against the resolution.

Mr. JONES, of Ga., spoke in favor of the resolution, but without concluding gave way to a motion that it be made the special order for to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

On motion of Mr. BETHEA, of Ala., the Convention then took a recess until eight o'clock, P. M.

NIGHT SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at eight o'clock, and was called to order.

Mr. BETHEA, of Ala., called up the resolutions fixing the time and place of the next meeting of the Convention.

The resolutions fix upon Montgomery, Ala., as the place, and the second Monday of May next, as the time, of the meeting, call upon the Governors, and the authorities of towns, cities, and counties, in the several Southern States, to appoint delegates, and provide for the appointment of a committee of five to propose and issue a call stating the objects of the Convention.

The resolutions were then adopted and Messrs. Lyons, of Va., Bethea, of Ala., Churchwell, of Tenn., Pryor, of Va., and Boyce, of S. C., were appointed the committee. Mr. Pryor having declined, the name of Mr. Yancey, of Georgia was substituted by the chair.

The Convention proceeded to consider the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the legislatures of all the slave-holding States to pass acts exempting one or more slaves in the hands of each slaveholder from liability for debts contracted after the passing of said acts.

The resolution was adopted.

The Convention then proceeded to consider the following resolutions:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the establishment of lines of steamships for the conveyance of passengers and produce between Southern ports and foreign ports forms part of the commercial development of the South.

Resolved, That, as the building of railroads has been deemed necessary for internal intercourse and commerce between the different Southern States, and the same has been fostered by public aid from the respective States, so the commercial intercourse of the South with foreign nations is also entitled to similar public aid and consideration.

Resolved, That with the large capital and facilities for business and the establishment of avenues of trade of leading Northern ports, the commerce of the South with foreign nations can only be diverted to herself by the temporary sacrifice of capital in the establishment and early maintenance of her enterprise, and to secure these ends public aid is necessary.

Resolved, That the present discrimination of the General Government in favor of lines of steamships for mail service starting from Northern ports, is unjust, &c., and similar aid should be extended to similar lines of steamers from the South for the same mail service.

The question was taken upon the resolutions separately.

The first, second, and third resolutions were adopted.

The fourth resolution was rejected.

Mr. PRYOR, of Va., offered the following as an additional resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention does not approve of the policy of Federal bounties to steamship lines.

After discussion the resolution was rejected.

Mr. CHURCHWELL, of Tenn., offered the following, as an additional resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention request the Governors of the several Northern States, to appoint five delegates whose duty it shall be to present the subject of a line of steamships across the Atlantic for the development of the resources of the South, and the building up of our carrying trade with Europe, to the people of the Southern States, and to solicit aid to carry out such plan as said delegates may adopt in a convention which they shall call at such time and place as they may select.

After discussion, the resolution was adopted.

The series of resolutions, as a whole, was then adopted.

Mr. LYONS, of Va., offered, as an additional resolution, the fourth resolution of the above series which had been rejected, so amended that the first clause shall read "resolved, that any discrimination in favor of," &c., instead of "that the present discrimination," &c.

Mr. PRYOR, of Va., offered to amend by inserting the words, "but this Convention does not approve of the policy of Federal bounties to steamship lines."

After much discussion, in which many members participated, the amendment was rejected by a vote of 40 to 45.

The resolution was then adopted by a vote of 60 to 25.

Mr. LYONS, of Va., moved to reconsider the vote adopting the resolution, and that that resolution be laid upon the table, which was agreed to by a vote of 52 to 33.

The Convention, at fifteen minutes to twelve o'clock, then adjourned.

FOURTH DAY.

The Convention met at 9 o'clock, pursuant to adjournment.

The Convention proceeded to the consideration of the reports of the Committee on Business.

The report on the resolutions of Lieut. Mowry, of Arizona, recommending to the General Government the granting of a separate organization to that part of New Mexico, and the establishment of a port on the Gulf of California for exports and supplies, to which end it was recommended to negotiate with Mexico for that privilege, was taken up. The committee recommended the adoption of the resolutions. Pending the question on them,

Mr. GEORGE S. WALDEN, of Alabama, rose to offer a resolution which he desired to have referred to the Committee on Business.

The PRESIDENT declared the gentleman out of order, the unfinished business of yesterday, which was the consideration of the reports of the Committee on Business, having precedence over all other.

Mr. WALDEN appealed from that decision—decision sustained.

Mr. WM. E. H. BARNWELL, of Va., by general consent, and it being announced that the committee had no business before it, offered a resolution recommending that the General Government use its influence to procure from foreign governments the repeal or a reduction of the duty on tobacco, raw and manufactured. It was ordered to be referred.

Mr. WALDEN, by general consent, offered a resolution declaring it against the settled policy and best interests of the slave-holding States to repeal the law prohibiting the slave-trade. Referred.

Mr. GLADNEY, of Miss., under the same privilege, offered a resolution recommending the appointment of a committee consisting of one member from each State, to solicit and encourage the preparation of text books for schools and colleges, the manuscripts of said books to be examined, and if approved to be recommended to the Convention and the proper measures taken to secure their publication. Referred.

Mr. P. D. PAGE, of Ala., offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Convention that the cause of Gen. Wm. Walker in Nicaragua has been highly meritorious, and that in our opinion the interference with his relations by the United States man-of-war St. Mary's was uncalled for and wrong.

Resolved, That this Convention sympathizes with Gen. Walker in his attempts, under the express invitation of the provisional government of Nicaragua, to institute a new order of things in that unhappy and distracted country.

Resolved, That the policy of Gen. Walker to introduce the system of foreign slavery in Nicaragua be approved by this Convention, and that it recommend his enterprise to the serious and earnest considerations of the Southern States of this Confederacy.

Objection being made the resolutions were not acted upon.

Resolutions of a somewhat similar character were also offered by Mr. McCrea, of Miss., but for the same reason were not received.

Mr. BROWN, of Geo., offered a resolution recommending the organization of a slave police, to check every attempt at insurrection. Referred.

Mr. SPRATT, of Charleston, offered the following resolution, which was not acted upon, objection being made:

"That the President of the Convention appoint a committee to obtain all the facts connected with the present condition and future prospects of slavery in the United States and other parts of the world, and the character and extent of the international law upon the subject of the African slave-trade and the propriety of re-opening that trade with the coast of Africa, and report the same at the next Convention."

Mr. BULL, of S. C., reminded the Chair that it was competent for the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Spratt,) to move a suspension of the rules with a view to enable him to offer his resolution.

The CHAIR remarked that the question had been just decided upon the appeal from the Chair on the motion of the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. YANCEY, of Geo., said he should protest against the President constituting himself autocrat over that body and thwarting the privileges of delegates.

[Cries of "Order! order!" went forth from all parts of the hall.]

Mr. YANCEY said those who called for order were out of order themselves. He would again protest against such a course of proceeding.

[Cries of "Order! order!" were again uttered.]

Mr. YANCEY asserted that he was not out of order. He would not submit to such interruption. If any gentleman was disposed to interrupt him, let him come face to face and do so. He said that the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) had a perfect right to move a suspension of the rules and offer his resolution, should the Convention decide in favor of a suspension. The President refuses to order the reading of the rule on that subject, which was, he said, contrary to all precedent.

The CHAIR repeated that the decision of the Convention was already rendered upon the question of the inadmissibility of resolutions while the unfinished business was pending, unless by general consent.

The hour of 10 o'clock having arrived, the special order, which was the resolution favoring direct taxation, reported adversely upon by the Committee on Business.

The pending question was upon the motion of Mr. JONES, of Geo., to disagree with the report of the committee.

Mr. JONES being entitled to the floor, proceeded to address the Convention in support of direct taxation.

A Virginia delegate inquired whether the General Government had the power to impose a tax upon their slaves and other property, when they afforded no protection for that property.

Mr. JONES said the General Government had undoubtedly the constitutional power to tax property of all kinds; but whether it was just that they should do so was another question. As to the question of protection, he would ask who protected their property from foreign invasion and against insurrection, but the General Government. He considered their right to tax upon that ground perfectly conclusive. His object was to procure such a system of taxation as shall operate justly, equally, and fairly upon all the property of the citizens of the United States, either at the North, South, East, or West, rich or poor. Yesterday he attempted to prove—and thought he did prove—that the system of collecting revenue by indirect taxation was unjust and unequal between the different sections of the Union, and still more between individuals. He would now proceed to show that the people did feel the burden of indirect taxation. It was no reply to the proposition that the people did not know what they paid—that they paid without grumbling, and did not feel the disadvantages of such taxation. He admitted that they did not know what they paid, and he regarded it as dishonorable and disgraceful that a fraud should be perpetrated upon the people by those appointed to protect their interests. Suppose you are knocked down in the dark, and do not know who did it—a man or woman, white, black, red, or yellow, (laughter,) whether it was with a poker or a tonga or any other weapon, do you not feel it? He apprehended that no man could be knocked down without feeling it, no matter how it was done. When a man

looses his twenty dollars in value, or whatever proportional amount it might be, he was certain to feel it, no matter how it may be exacted, directly or indirectly. Of all the absurdities (continued Mr. Jones) into which the advocates of the tariff have fallen, the notion that it costs less to collect revenue through the Custom House by imports than it will cost to collect the same amount by direct taxes, is the most absurd; and their whole doctrine, and their arguments in support of it is nothing but absurdities, fallacies, and inconsistencies. It may be true in Europe, where the people belong to the government; but in this country, where the government belongs to the people, it is so far from being true, that it can be demonstrated that for every dollar that goes into the treasury through the Custom House, nearly two are taken out of the pockets of the consuming, tax paying people. Before I proceed to the proof, let me observe that the error grows out of the notion that the collection of money costs the Government *ex nomine* anything; when the truth is, the entire cost falls on the people—the owners of the Government. The administrators of the Government say they need a given sum to enable them to transact the people's business; the people must put the amount in the treasury, and the whole expense falls on them. Last year, the people put into the treasury through the Custom House over \$64,000,000; and I am to prove that it cost them nearly double to get it there. The importer charged the jobber 10 per cent. on the tariff he paid—\$6,400,000—add to it the \$64,000,000, and you have \$70,400,000 which this same tariff costs the jobber. The jobber charged the retailer 15 per cent. profits on what he paid for tariff—\$10,560,000—add it to the \$70,400,000 and you have \$80,960,000 which the retailer pays tariff and profits on tariff. The retailer charges the consumer (the people) 50 per cent. tariff and profits on tariff—\$40,480,000—add it to the \$80,960,000 and you have the enormous amount of \$121,440,000 which it cost the people to put \$64,000,000 into the treasury, through the Custom House. The result is monstrous, yet all is not told. We, the people, must keep thirty or forty millions of dollars invested in property necessary to carry on the tariff system. Under a system of direct taxes, the cost of collecting stops at the amount paid collectors, and as there would be no surplus collected, the collectors would be paid only for collecting the amount needed by the administrators to transact the people's business—probably 15,000,000 or 20,000,000, instead of 121,000,000. Yet, strange to tell, there is a powerful party in Georgia that gained power by opposing the tariff; and now they are in power they support the tariff, as they say, because the people can be cheated into paying four times as much by the tariff as they will consent to pay in direct taxes; and this same party is now asking the people to continue it in power. Ponder on it well, my countrymen. Ask the candidate who seeks your vote if he is in favor of a tariff, yes or no; and if he says yes, and you agree with me that it is wrong and unjust, a cheat and swindle, and a grievous imposition, think twice before you trust such a man with your purse strings, no matter if he does tell you to "stick to the party." Party won't pay your taxes or buy your family clothes.

Mr BLUNT, of Mobile, inquired if it was the object of the gentleman to submit direct taxation by the General Government on the slave property of the South!

Mr. JONES said his object was that these men shall give in a statement upon oath of the amount of property they hold, as also its approximate value. Upon that the Government of the United States shall assess a given sum which shall meet its exigencies.

Mr. BLUNT said that, as he understood, it was the object of every Southern man to detach the General Government from any action in regard to their peculiar institutions. Were they to give to the Government of the United States the right to legislate in reference to their slave property, and tax it at pleasure? The proposition seemed to him to be monstrous. What is the value of the slaves in the Southern country? Why, about two thousand millions of dollars, and what, he would ask, would be the amount of revenue which might be derived from such an amount of taxable property if the system of direct taxation, which the gentleman advocated, was to be established? It would be almost incalculable. Was he to be told that it was proper to submit this property to taxation at the will of the United States Government? Congress had the right

to make a distinction between objects of taxation, and it could not be doubted that all they needed was the sanction of the South to induce them to legislate as they pleased with reference to that property. He would commend these suggestions to the solemn and earnest consideration of the Convention, and warn them not to offer such a pretext as the power conferred by that resolution would afford for interference by Congress with our slave property.

Mr. HUBBARD, of Ala., said that there were some of these propositions which seemed to him to be unsound, but taking the matter altogether he thought the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Jones) was right in the main. He had no doubt that direct taxation would transfer millions from the North to the South within a very few years. He advocated the justice of diffusing the sums necessary for collection among the different counties, instead of concentrating it as at present in a few favored cities.

Mr. HORACE MAYNARD, member of Congress elect from this district, said, that he thought the logic employed to sustain this proposition of direct taxation was like that upon which certain doctrines in other parts of the country were based—that all men were born free and equal. In view of the present state of commercial operations throughout the world, he was not prepared to sustain the proposition of the gentleman. He held, as matters now stood, that it was the foreign producer and not the consumer that paid the revenue. He maintained that it was the sugar producer at Cuba and not the consumer at Tennessee that paid the revenue on that species of produce; and the same might be said in reference to all other descriptions of property subjected to taxation. He maintained that so far as the system of indirect taxation operated with reference to the South, it was rather favorable to its interests, inasmuch as the slaves used those articles which were not taxed. As to the collection of taxes upon the principle of taxation advocated by the gentleman, he would say it was by no means judicious, in his opinion. They were to have among them, as a consequence of this system, a federal tax collector, who would be fed out of the pickings of the federal treasury, at the expense of the people. This one fact, if nothing else, would render this whole system objectionable to him. He concluded with a few other remarks, showing the system of direct taxation to be entirely injudicious.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of S. C., by way of illustrating the evils of indirect taxation, stated that he at one time purchased a gun in England, which he had consigned to Charleston. The purchase value was \$250, and upon that he was compelled to pay a revenue of \$50, which was as much as the tax for one year upon one hundred slaves. Moreover the North did not recognise slaves as property, and in this view of the matter it was not improbable that they would be exempt from taxation even under the system proposed to be established.

Mr. BOYCE, of S. C., addressed the Convention in favor of direct taxation, and demonstrated at some length the evils of the present system.

Mr. BETHEA, of Geo., from the Committee on Business, reported the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the interests of education generally throughout the Southern States are among the most important that claim the attention of this Convention, and that every well directed effort in their advancement should be efficiently sustained and fostered.

Resolved, That the time has arrived when the South owes it to herself to enter with energy on the career of more extended and ample provision for the education of her youth, in the higher branches of learning, and that the convention of citizens alluded to by the President of this meeting in his opening address, as recently held for forming and establishing a university of the highest grade within our borders, is a movement in the right direction, and with every other of a similar character is entitled to the cordial sympathy and material aid of the South.

Resolved, That the School Committee appointed at the last Convention to purchase school books be re-appointed, and that the President be authorized to add one or more members to that Committee from the Southern States.

Resolved, That the members from a majority of the Southern States shall constitute a quorum and have power to act.

The following names were added to the Committee as directed:

Bishop Polk, of La., Chairman of the Committee; Hon. John Perkins, La.; William Gilmore Simms and R. B. Carroll, S. C.; C. K. Marshall, Miss.

Lieut. Mowry, the delegate from Arizona, remarked that he was requested by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Deane) to give some information regarding the region which he represented. As the time of the Convention was limited to a few hours, he would forego any lengthened explanation of the state of things in that country. Being about to travel with the gentleman to Virginia, he would take occasion to give him all the information he possessed on the way. He would state that when the treaty was concluded by General Gadsden, there was no United States citizens resident there. Now, however, there were many of them settled there, and their numbers are increasing in the ratio of one or two hundred a month. For six hundred miles the country was perfectly free from depredations by Indians, and it only needed population to make it prosperous beyond conception. He asked that the resolutions in reference to it, reported by the Committee on Business, be taken up and acted upon. [These resolutions appeared in the report of the first day's proceedings.] They contained a recommendation to the General Government to extend more aid and protection to it—to give it a separate organization, and also to establish a depot on the Gulf of California for supplies and exports, to effect which it was recommended that they enter into negotiations with Mexico for a proper site for that purpose.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The regular order of business was then proceeded with, being the reports from the Committee on Business. A resolution referred to that Committee and reported adversely upon, in reference to the re-opening of the slave-trade was taken up.

Mr. SPRATT, of S. C., moved to amend it by substituting the resolution which he offered in the early part of the day, but which was not in order at the time.

Mr. BLUNT, of Mobile, moved to amend the amendment by inserting before the word "slavery" the words "absolute and qualified."

Mr. Spratt accepted the amendment.

The question on the adoption of the amendment was then put, and decided in the negative—ayes 44, noes 48.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of S. C., offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to report to the next Southern Commercial Convention the manner and comparative expense of selling cotton in the principal Southern markets, and further to report any change which, in the opinion of the Convention, would advance the interests of the planters in the sale, insurance, and repacking of cotton.

The President appointed the following committee under that resolution:

G. P. Smith, of S. C.; Mr. Stewart, of Miss.; Mr. Jones, of Geo.; T. J. Prince, of Ala.; and General Sparrow, of S. C.

Mr. CARROLL offered the following resolution, which was also adopted:

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of the President of this Convention and one member from each State represented, be appointed to suggest suitable business for the consideration of the next Southern Convention, to be held at Montgomery, Alabama, and that said committee be requested to report the same in the public prints before the next Convention.

Mr. STEELE, of Geo., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That in order to control the educational system of the South, the propriety of establishing publishing houses, to be located in some one of the towns or cities of the South, be referred to the consideration of the Legislatures of the Southern States, on the plan of States and corporations becoming shareholders in the enterprises, each State or corporation subscribing stock to appoint a delegate to a Convention for the organization of such company, giving the location to that State subscribing the largest amount of stock.

The Convention then took a recess until 3 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at the appointed hour.

Mr. J. C. BROWN, of Geo., by general consent—the consideration of the reports of the Business Committee being in order—offered a resolution of thanks to the municipal authorities of Knoxville, as well as its citizens generally, for the hospitality, courtesy, and kindness extended by them to the members of the Convention. Adopted.

The question then recurring on agreeing to the report of the Committee on Business, asking to be discharged from the further consideration of a resolution on the subject of re-opening the slave-trade,

Mr. SPRATT, of S. C., submitted the following amendment:

“That this Convention is not possessed of information sufficient at the present time for proper action upon the question of re-opening the African slave-trade, and that with a view to such information a committee consisting of one from each delegation present be appointed to collect information upon the condition of the African nation, upon the wants of the South in respect to population and labor, and to report the same to the next Convention, to be held at Montgomery, Alabama, in May next.”

Mr. SPRATT commented upon the argument advanced by the opponents of this scheme of re-opening the slave-trade, which was that the time had not arrived for the consideration of this subject. Upon the same principle it might be said that when Luther started his theory of reformation it was not the proper time. When our fathers of the Revolution rose up in vindication of their liberty and rights, and bared their breasts to the sword to battle for their independence, that was not the proper time. The American Revolution vindicated the great truth that all men were born free and equal, but society in its secret movements vindicated a still greater truth that inequality was necessary to man's progress. In Rome there existed the plebian and the aristocrat, and their inequalities made Rome great. In France there exists the peasant and the noblemen, and that makes her great and prosperous. While among classes equality is right, society holds that inequality is necessary to its healthful existence.

Mr. WAMOCK, of Ala., said that the Convention should not be deterred from acting in this matter from the consideration that it might go abroad that they were debating the re-opening of the slave-trade. The very fact that they minced the question and refused to agitate it wanted to imply that they devised the matter wrong, and that they regarded slavery as objectionable. As had been remarked on the floor yesterday by the gentleman from Mississippi, (Mr. Gladney,) if he believed it was wrong he would, so help his God, purchase a press on his return home and war upon it from that day forward. (Applause.) He believed, before his God, that there was nothing more right in all the economy of man. He would not, like his friend, (Mr. Gladney,) quote the bible upon that question, for he was satisfied that the advantages of the institution were fully appreciated by those who heard him. It was stated that the re-opening of the slave-trade would lead to a dissolution of the Union. He believed it would be the means of strengthening it, the great danger of such a result lies in English intrigue, the policy of that country being to promote dissolution, with a view to break up the manufactories of the North and thus give her a monopoly in all the articles of supply necessary for national use. A gentleman of distinction some few weeks ago lectured in Edinburgh, Scotland, in reference to our country. It appears he had been recently in Cuba and in the Southern and Northern cities of this country, and observed very closely the state of things in those cities. He spoke of the whole country in high terms, designating it in fact, a monster republic, and eulogized our institutions in terms of high praise. He said: “You cannot check the growth of that monster republic. She goes on with a stride that is irresistible, and you cannot stop her except by dissolving the Union.” He here went into a history of the operation of slavery, showing the evil effects of emancipation upon Jamaica and other British colonies, denouncing the course of England in respect to slavery as the arrantest hypocrisy. He showed that the slaves which she captured were sent to Sierra Leone or

some other British possession, and there detained under the apprenticeship system for twenty-one years, when they were set at liberty, with no earthly means to return to their native country. This he regarded as a system of slavery of the most aggravated character, guided under the feasible designation of apprenticeship. He would ask if a Convention of Southern men were prepared to vote down this proposition, which was merely intended as an inquiry into the condition of slavery and the African nation. He would hope not. On the contrary, he trusted it would be unanimously adopted.

Mr. L. J. GOGERTY, of Va., said he mistook much of the sentiments and feelings of the members of that Convention if they would allow themselves to be influenced by any consideration of fear, lest any manifestation of feeling upon this subject would lead to an outcry against the institution of slavery. Were they to let it go to Exeter Hall, that Southern men were afraid to appoint a committee of Southern men to examine into the subject of slavery? Shall they have it told to them through abolition prints, whether of the mountains of Vermont, or of the metropolitan city of New York, or that hole of abolitionism in the centre of Massachusetts, (Boston,) that they dare not examine into this question, simply because it would be supposed that they were in favor of the opening of the slave-trade? Were they, as men who are anxious to see the Christian religion diffused into every region of the earth, to go in opposition to the greatest missionary enterprise that the sun ever shone upon, from any such consideration as he had referred to? They sent their missionaries to and fro, and what did they do? Why comparatively nothing. Look at your missionaries here, and see what has been the result of their exertions. He maintained that the African slave-trade, so far from being an evil, did more than the greatest missionary enterprise in the cause of religion and civilization. (Applause.) And were they, as Southern men, afraid to inquire into the condition, because, forsooth, it would give rise to an idea that they contemplate the revival of a trade more humanizing in its effects than any device that could be conceived. Why, the whole civilized world was discussing the question at this time, and they of the South were told that they ought not to discuss it, or that Exeter Hall would raise a great cry, and Harriet Beecher Stowe would write another novel about them. (Laughter.) And this was what Southern men were afraid of. If the resolution asked this Convention to favor the re-opening of the slave-trade, he would vote against it. But understanding it simply to propose inquiry with reference to slavery, he was ready to sustain it; and was not every man there from Virginia in favor of obtaining all the light possible in reference to that subject? He would say they were, and he felt satisfied they would give their aid to obtain it. If slavery was the great evil which it was represented in certain quarters to be, he would say, for God's sake, examine into it.

Mr. O. LOCHRANE, of Ga., addressed the Convention briefly in support of the amendment; after which,

Mr. O. P. TEMPLE, of Knoxville, offered the following as an independent proposition:

Resolved, further, That for the better information of the next Convention, a committee of five be appointed to report at the next Commercial Convention, to be held at Montgomery, Alabama, upon the subject of foreign immigration, showing by carefully compiled statistics, to what extent the South has been overborne by the annual infusion of foreigners into the North within the last fifteen years.

A brief discussion arose as to the admissibility of this proposition in connection with the subject under consideration. It was voted as not germane to the question before the Convention, but was, meanwhile, received as an independent proposition.

Mr. TEMPLE said he did not intend to detain the Convention but a few minutes. He would ask what was it that the Convention was debating upon for the past four days? Of course what was best calculated to promote the prosperity and independence of the Southern States. That was their object. In furtherance of that object, his friend from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) intro-

duced a resolution for the purpose of raising a committee to examine into the subject of re-opening the African slave-trade, and to report at the next session of that Convention. What is the object of that proposition? It unquestionably leads to some ulterior purposes, and what are these purposes? It contemplates that when there will be a change in the policy of this Government with reference to the restriction now imposed upon the slave-trade, it will be lawful to introduce African labor on a large scale into the Southern States, to enable them the better to resist the encroachments of their Northern brethren. What was his proposition? Without detaining them with any statistical comments, he would refer them to the statistics of the country as published by the General Government. They would see that hundreds of thousands of foreigners were coming into the United States every year, and that a large majority of them go to the Northwestern States, and that not more than one-fifth or two-fifths were coming to the Southern States. He would be permitted to remark that if they would come here, no objection would be made to them, for we would be in no danger from them. They would soon be assimilated with us, and be incorporated into our social system. But they go to the Northwestern States and assimilate with the Black Republicans, and for good reason, because they come from countries that are opposed to slavery. They were swelling the population of the Northern States, and thus rendering them too powerful for us. Instead of increasing in population we were decreasing, and, as a consequence, were losing one or two members of Congress every year. He would say that these remarks were dictated by no spirit of Americanism or Know-Nothingism. He was actuated in referring to this subject solely by motives of interest for the South. He trusted the proposition would be adopted, and that the committee would give this matter due consideration.

Mr. DEAN, of Va., said, before the Convention assembled this evening the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt) came to him as a member of the Virginia delegation, and expressed to him the greatest anxiety that a committee should be raised upon this subject. He asked him (Mr. Deane) to interfere with his colleagues in the matter. He left the affair with his colleague, (Mr. Gogerty the reporter presumes,) and, no doubt, he did what was proper in the matter. There was nothing that would be asked of him in courtesy that he would not be ready to grant, if it was in his power. He would say, then, with no disrespect, that when he was told that he was afraid to meet this question, when he was told, as a Southern man, that such a course as he had pursued there would be calculated to get up an outcry, he would call upon the Virginia delegation to stand up to the matter. (Applause.)

Mr. ELMORE, of Louisiana, moved to lay the resolution of the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Temple,) on the table. Agreed to.

Mr. SNEED said he was very well known in Tennessee, at least, or if not, it was not his fault, to be what is construed in Tennessee a little extreme on the subject of Southern rights, yet he could not vote for this proposition in any aspect of the case that he could view it. He would move, therefore, to lay the whole subject on the table—the report of the committee, with the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Carolina. Rejected—ayes, 40; noes, 52.

The question then recurred on the adoption of the amendment, which was agreed to, the vote standing, ayes, 52; noes, 40. (Spratt's amendment.)

The reports of the Committee on Business were then taken up, and the following agreed to:

On the securing an exclusive right to the Tehuantepec route. On the repeal of laws granting bounties to those engaged in the northeastern fisheries. On the letter of Major Chase, of Florida, contrasting the advantages of slave labor over the apprenticeship system advocated by England, which was ordered to be embodied in the proceedings of the Convention, and published therewith. On the establishment of agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, and educational associations. On the more extended cultivation of the grape. On the publication of the proceedings of the Convention. On recommending to the General Government to procure the repeal or reduction by foreign countries of the duties on raw and manufactured tobacco. On procuring exclusive control of the Isthmus in Central America.

COLONEL LEWIS, of Alabama, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

That this Convention adjourn this evening at 7 o'clock, to meet again at Montgomery, Alabama, on the second Monday in May, 1858.

Mr. BLUNT, of Mobile, offered the following preamble and resolutions, which were laid on the table:

The integrity of the Union of the United States is the first wish of every true patriot; its preservation under the Constitution demands the best energies of all its citizens.

The Southern slaveholding States, in their loyalty and devotion to its continuance, do not assume to themselves more credit than is due to the conservative spirit and patriotic feelings which exist among that portion of their Northern fellow-citizens with whom they would co-operate to arouse a spirit of resistance to the anarchical tendency of large masses of the Northern population, and bring back the Government of the Union to the purity and simplicity with which it was administered in the better and happier days of the Republic.

To properly direct wholesome public sentiment of the North—to separate the political elements of disturbance and revolution from the great popular opinion of the free States—to bring into active and healthy exercise the wholesome patriotic impulse still existing among them, and to make a concert of action with them and the conservative influences governing the popular feeling of the South, be it, therefore,

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the agricultural, manufacturing, commercial, and mechanical classes of the whole Union are deeply interested in its preservation under the guarantees of the Constitution.

Resolved, That a Convention of delegates, representing the agricultural, manufacturing, mechanical, and commercial classes of all the States, of the Union, be held in Louisville, Kentucky, on the third Monday of July, 1858, to take into consideration the state of public affairs, to devise ways and means for the perpetuity of our institutions, the enforcement of all the constitutional guarantees by the General Government to the several States, the unqualified recognition of the rights of the States and the prompt execution of all laws constitutionally enacted under the supreme authority of the Union, would, in the opinion of this Convention, go very far to advance the public welfare and curb the wild spirit of anarchy and fanaticism which now disturb the peace and happiness of our common country.

The place for holding the Convention was changed from Louisville to Memphis, Tennessee, Kentucky being only represented by one in this Convention.

Mr. PAGE, of Alabama, offered the resolutions in relation to the course of Gen. Walker in Nicaragua, which are given in another part of this report, but they were rejected. The vote stood, ayes, 16, noes, 68.

Dr. LEE, of Miss., offered a resolution of thanks to the President and other officers, also to the pastors and elders of the First Presbyterian church for the use of that building, which were adopted.

Resolutions of thanks to the citizens of Knoxville and such of the railroad companies as afforded travelling facilities to the delegates were all offered and adopted.

Hon. Mr. Cox, of Tenn., moved an adjournment.

Before putting the question, the President addressed the Convention.

The Convention adjourned to meet again at Montgomery, Alabama, on the second Monday in May, 1858.

SOUTHERN STEAMSHIP LINE.

A Convention was lately held at Old Point Comfort, over which the Hon. John Tyler, of Virginia, presided, for the purpose of promoting the Steamship Enterprise of Mr. A. D. Mann.

Mr. Dudley, chairman of the committee on resolutions, reported the following:

1. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the citizens of the slave-holding States should make every honorable exertion, and especially to avail themselves of every adventitious discovery of science, to release the South from the commercial bondage by which she is bound, hand and foot, by the other sections of our Confederacy; and that it is idle to talk of the full development of her vast resources, unless she do her own exporting and importing, and deliver from the Maelstrom of the North the hundred millions of dollars which are drawn from the people to build up and support that portion of our country.

2. *Resolved*, That the projected ocean ferry of iron steamships between Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven, as originated in the letter of Hon. A. Dudley Mann to the citizens of the slave-holding States, dated London, August 12, 1856, is practicable, and can, in our opinion, accomplish the object so much desired, and not only ameliorate our commerce, but strengthen the political condition.

3. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, this grand American enterprise is peculiarly deserving the support of each and every citizen of the South, and that immediate and active measures should be taken in every city, town, and county in the Southern States to raise the requisite means for its speedy and permanent establishment.

4. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend this plan for establishing direct trade to the favorable consideration and support of the Southern Commercial Convention, to be held in Knoxville, Tennessee.

5. *Resolved*, That each of the counties, cities, and towns of this State, and such other States as may feel an interest in the success of the object of this Convention, be, and are hereby requested, as early as practicable, to meet in primary assembly, and adopt such measures as may be deemed proper to accomplish said objects; and also to appoint a correspondent to correspond with the Hon. A. Dudley Mann in regard to the object of the Convention.

6. *Resolved*, That the Hon. A. Dudley Mann be requested to convey the sentiments of this Convention to the Southern Commercial Convention, to assemble in Knoxville on the 10th proximo.

7. *Resolved*, That the Hon. A. Dudley Mann be requested to take charge of all correspondence connected with the proposed steam-ferry line, and that persons interested in the proposed line correspond with him at Washington, D. C.

8. *Resolved*, That each subscriber be requested to pay the sum of \$1, in part of his subscription, in order to defray preliminary expenses.

The resolutions being before the Convention for adoption—

Hon. A. Dudley Mann, in answer to numerous calls, rose and addressed those present. He said he did not consider himself at liberty to neglect the discharge of a public duty, such as he conceived an explanation of the scheme before the Convention to be. The occasion was rendered more interesting by the fact that we were at Old Point Comfort, that hallowed spot which proved a beacon of hope to that band of weary travellers, at a time long past; and he hoped that the action taken here to-day might prove a beacon of hope to those anxiously striving for the commercial improvement of the

South. The enterprise was a Southern one, and not Virginian, save inasmuch as the position of the venerable mother of States might entitle her to share in it.

It has been assailed at the North as a Union-destroying movement, and some at the South have been frightened at this view of the question. These assaults were the results of unblushing mendacity, as much as the fears were the offspring of crouching timidity. On the contrary, it is intended to strengthen the Union by equalizing the strength of the two sections composing it. If it be Union-destroying to make the South the peer of the North, then was Washington a Union destroyer, for years of his life were spent in the study of the great problem and efforts to solve it. That great man recognised the availability of the Chesapeake for becoming the outlet of the trade of the West and Northwest; and in 1784, after the declaration of peace, he proceeded to examine the route between the James and Potomac rivers, with a view to confirming his opinions. The result of this exploration was, that on the 10th of October, 1784, he wrote to Governor Harris, of Virginia, saying that the shortest and cheapest route of transportation from the country back of the Apalache range of mountains to the Atlantic was over the Chesapeake, and showing that the bay was 160 miles nearer to Detroit than the St. Lawrence river. In the same letter he advocated the improvement of the James and Kanawha rivers, as the nearest route from the Atlantic to the lakes. He wrote to the Earl of Buchan in the same year, calling his attention to the fact, that "Washington, a new city near the centre of the Union, and designed to be its capital," had been founded, and expressing the opinion that in ten years it would be connected with the lakes. He showed in one of his letters that Alexandria, Virginia, was nearer Detroit by 340 miles than New York.

The speaker alluded to New York city, her position and power, some of which was derived from trade drawn thither through unnatural channels. The Chesapeake Bay is the natural channel for much of this traffic, and the Great Eastern is destined to be the interpretation of the depth of its waters and the expansiveness of its bosom. It is by commanding the traffic that naturally belongs to us that we are to become strong and independent; and it is after we have accomplished this, that the encroachments on the Constitution will cease. He begged his hearers to bear this in view, and be united for the sake of the Constitution and the South. It was not surprising that this project had been met with incredulity. There are few who do not know of the sad fate of Galileo, the priest who was cast into prison, where he suffered away his life, for asserting that the earth moved around the sun, and not the sun

around the earth. The holy brotherhood, who by intolerance, slew the discoverer of this great truth, do not lack, in our day, for prototypes. The harbor of New York may admit the Great Eastern unloaded, but she can never run to that port freighted; nor can any vessel of her size. There are ports in the South to which she and other craft of her tonnage can come; and as the speed of a steam-vessel must depend much on its size, the time between New York and Liverpool will be much greater than that between Norfolk and Liverpool. This is all important, and must divert the trade from New York.

He spoke of the great net-work of railroads with which the United States is covered, 17,000 miles of which are closer to the Chesapeake than New York, and only 7,000 of which are closer to New York than the Chesapeake. Among them is the great route to the basin of Mississippi and Alabama, composed of the Norfolk and Petersburg, Southside, Virginia and Tennessee, and East Tennessee and Virginia railroads. The requirements of trade demand vessels the size of the Great Eastern. Four such vessels would carry 200,000 tons of freight per trip, and 300 sailing vessels cannot do it. Four such vessels would only need 1,600 hands for their management, while the sailing vessels would require 10,000 sailors. The gross receipts for freight at one voyage would be \$200,000, while, from their imperviousness to sea and fire, the rates of insurance would be materially reduced. The cost of running four such vessels, per annum, would be \$7,000,000. An agent for an English company had offered him four screw steamers, of 2,500 tons each, on advantageous terms; but they burnt a ton of coal to each ton of freight they carried, while the Great Eastern burns only one ton of coal to every ten tons of freight.

In 1870, the cotton crop of the United States will be 7,000,000 bales. Who will enjoy the benefits arising from the transportation of that immense freight? Will it not be our foes, north of the Hudson river? He did not consider himself an extremist, but he was willing that every Southern merchant should resolve, after December 31, 1857, to receive no foreign goods except of Southern importation. He said letters were pouring in upon him from all quarters in the South to take stock in the enterprise.

The speaker concluded with an eloquent tribute to the ladies, acknowledging the invincibility of the project if supported by them; which was received, as the whole speech had been, with loud applause.

The Convention was also eloquently addressed by a number of other distinguished gentlemen.

The committee on subscriptions reported that a large number of shares had been taken, and that they were of opinion

that it would be increased by the addition of 300 names, in a few days, in the vicinity of Old Point.

On Thursday afternoon 61 shares were taken in a few minutes, making \$6,100, a truly gratifying beginning to this great project. Among the names of the subscribers are ex-President Tyler, Governor Wise, of Virginia; D. M. Barringer, North Carolina; Geo. D. Wise, Accomac; John F. Hamblin, Memphis, Tennessee; Henry Exall and R. A. Pryor, Richmond; M. N. Fall, Baltimore; E. C. Nottingham, Northampton; T. J. Page, Washington; T. J. Cropper, Norfolk; Joseph Segar, Elizabeth city; Mr. Bowler and Alex. Dudley, King and Queen; R. A. Mayo, Henrico; A. B. Dickinson, Prince Edward; J. L. Deans, Gloucester; Edward Ruffin, Hanover; Edward Ruffin, Jr., Prince George; Wm. Lamb, Norfolk; A. D. Banks, Petersburg; George R. Drummond, Norfolk; and R. Morris, Richmond.

Mr. D. T. Bisbie, of Norfolk, offered a resolution appointing a commissioner for every congressional district in the South, to solicit subscriptions to, and canvass the claims of the new steamer. The resolution was adopted, after being amended by Mr. Dudley, so as to appoint three commissioners instead of one.

The usual vote of thanks to the President and Secretaries, Hon. A. Dudley Mann for his able address, and to Joseph Segar, esq., for his accommodations, were adopted.

The Convention then adjourned to meet in Richmond on the Wednesday after the second Monday in December.

PROBABLE SUPPLY OF COTTON FROM THE GROWING CROP OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is probably rather early in the season to commence an estimate of the supply of cotton from the growing crop; and yet, even at this early date, we are in possession of several facts and data materially influencing the quantity to be reasonably expected, upon which to predicate an opinion. We have the date of the latest Spring frosts—of the first form, the first blossom, and from the general condition of the plant, we are able to contrast it with corresponding dates in previous years. With these facts before us, and availing ourselves of information derived from incidents connected with a series of previous cotton crops, a comparative estimate may be made, which will be entitled to some degree of consideration.

In the compilation of the following tables, I have been much indebted to DeBow's Review and his valuable work, "The Southern States—cotton commerce, &c." From 1850

to 1856 inclusive, I have been kindly furnished with information by H. M. N. McKnight, of Red Plains in this Parish. The dates at which the Spring and Fall frosts occur, will of course slightly vary according to latitude, even within the narrow limits of the cotton region. The dates given below apply to 31° 40' N. L.

WHITE FROSTS.			ITEMS OF COTTON CROP.		
Latest in Spring— Year.	Earliest in Fall— Date.	Date.	Time of cotton growing.	First Bloom.	Crop in Bales.
1825.	Feb. 15....	Oct. 19.....	8 months 4 days		720,027
1826.	April 11....	Nov. 18.....	" 7 "		937,000
1827.	March 19....	" 30.....	" 8 "	" 11 "	712,000
1828.	" 17....	" 12.....	" 7 "	" 25 "	857,744
1829.	" 22....	" 12.....	" 7 "	" 9 "	976,845
1830.	Feb. 14....	Oct. 20.....	" 8 "	" 6 "	1,030,848
1831.	March 21....	" 28.....	" 7 "	" 7 "	987,477
1832.	" 18....	Nov. 9.....	" 7 "	" 21 "	1,070,438
1833.	" 30....	Oct. 20.....	" 6 "	" 20 "	1,205,394
1834.	" 30....	" 20.....	" 6 "	" 20 "	1,254,328
1835.	" 23....	" 10.....	" 6 "	" 17 "	1,360,725
1836.	" 25....	" 22.....	" 6 "	" 27 "	1,422,930
1837.	April 9....	" 26.....	" 6 "	" 17 "	1,801,497
1838.	March 18....	" 22.....	" 7 "	" 4 "	1,360,532
1839.	" 6....	Nov. 7.....	" 8 "	" 1 "	2,177,835
1840.	" 31....	Oct. 25.....	" 6 "	" 24 " June 6.....	1,634,945
1841.	" 18....	" 23.....	" 7 "	" 5 " " 10.....	1,683,574
1842.	Feb. 22....	" 26.....	" 8 "	" 4 " May 17.....	2,378,875
1843.	April 1....	" 28.....	" 6 "	" 27 " June 9.....	2,030,409
1844.	March 31....	" 19.....	" 6 "	" 18 " May 25.....	2,394,503
1845.	" 21....	" 12.....	" 6 "	" 18 " May 30.....	2,100,537
1846.	April 14....	" 19.....	" 6 "	" 5 " June 10.....	1,778,651
1847.	March 27....	Nov. 19.....	" 7 "	" 22 " May 30.....	2,347,634
1848.	" 14....	" 20.....	" 8 "	" 16 " June 1.....	2,728,596
1849.	April 16....	" 8.....	" 6 "	" 22 " " 6.....	2,096,706
1850.	" 7....	Oct. 26.....	" 6 "	" 19 " " 24.....	2,355,257
1851.	" 22....	Nov. 6.....	" 6 "	" 14 " " 5.....	3,015,000
1852.	" 6....	Nov. 7.....	" 6 "	" 1 " " 3.....	3,362,900
1853.	March 15....	Oct. 25.....	" 7 "	" 10 " " 10.....	2,930,000
1854.	April 29....	Nov. 5.....	" 8 "	" 6 " " 12.....	2,847,300
1855.	March 28 ...	Oct. 25.....	" 6 "	" 27 " May 30.....	3,527,800
1856.	March 3....	Oct. 16.....	" 7 "	" 13 " June 4, estimated.	2,950,000

The above table comprises a period of thirty-two years; and I now propose to present the average dates of frosts, blooms, duration of growing seasons, &c., and test the present growing crop by the result thus established.

Average latest Spring Frost, March 23.

" Earliest Fall " October 26.

" Time between latest and earliest Frost, 7 months 3 days.

" Date of first Bloom, June 5.

During the early portion of the present season, there was a succession of frosts more or less intense, until the commencement of May. March was unusually cold and unfavorable to cotton, and the severe frost on the 5th of April completely

destroyed the young cotton, and was equally fatal to the corn which had been planted early. Most of our planters considered it most prudent to re-plant both corn and cotton. During the month of April there were several frosts, but none after the 23d that injured the cotton to any considerable extent. The months of May and June have been unusually favorable, and the cotton crop now presents as promising an appearance as I have ever known it, for the time it has been growing. The first blooms were seen about the 25th of the present month. Now while it is admitted that the present cotton crop is quite promising for the season, it must be equally admitted that it is from twenty to thirty days later than the average of the thirty-two preceding years. If we take the above average for the earliest Fall frost of the present year, the statement for 1857 will be as follows:

Latest Spring frost, April 23.	Earliest Fall frost, average, Oct. 26.	Growing season, 6 m and 3d.	First Bloom, June 25.
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The first bloom, which is probably the fairest test of the present condition and prospect of the growing crop, proves that the average growing season will be at least twenty days short of the usual period. If we take the average date of frosts, we find thirty days deficiency. Then the question of a short or average crop of cotton for 1857, depends upon the date of the Fall frost. There can under no circumstances be a large crop—we are too late in the commencement; and though much may depend upon the date of the Fall frost, there can under no circumstances be more than an average crop.

Before I proceed to show what I would consider a small average or large crop for 1857, I will call attention to some facts connected with the above table. It will be seen, that as a general rule, the magnitude of the crop depends upon a long or short period, between the Spring and Fall frost. In 1839, the Spring opened on the 6th March, seventeen days earlier than the average, and the growing season continued twelve days later than the average Fall frost, giving for the growing season 8 months 1 day, and a crop of 2,177,000 bales—an increase of more than 800,000 bales over the year immediately preceding. The crop of 1840, besides the influences of a short season of 6 months and twenty-four days, was diminished by an overflow in the Mississippi, and reached only 1,635,000 bales. The crop of 1842 was very large, and it will be observed that the season commenced on the 22d February, and continued until to 26th October, a period of 8 months and four days, yielding 2,378,000 bales, and an increase of more than 700,000 bales over the previous year. The crop of 1848, was an unusually short one of 1,779,000 resulting from a short growing season, of 6 months and five days, and a general visi-

tation of the army worm. The crop of 1849 is again a short one of 2,097,000, showing a deficit of more than 600,000 bales from the previous crop; the growing season was only 6 months and twenty-two days, and there was an overflow in Red river during the Summer.

The crop of 1855 was an unusually large one, on a growing season of a few days short of 7 months, but it will be observed that the whole season was remarkably favorable, and that at least 250,000 bales of the previous crop was received, which had been kept back by low water in the rivers in Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. The crop of 1856 has been variously estimated, but taking the present deficit at all the ports, and the probable amount to come forward, it will probably not exceed 2,950,000 bales—and I believe this figure has been generally adopted—I shall take it as a basis of calculation.

I will now proceed, from the above data, to give my estimate of the probable supply of cotton to be received from the growing crop.

Taking the average of the last five crops as the basis of our calculation, without regard to the late Spring frost of the present season, the result will be as follows:

1852 Crop in bales.....	3,262,900
1853 " "	2,930,000
1854 " "	2,847,300
1855 " "	3,587,800
1856 " "Estimated..	2,950,000
Average of above.....	3,123,600
Add 5 per cent. for increase in cultivation.	156,200
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	3,279,800

But if the Fall frost should take place at the average date, 26th October, the growing season will be only 6 months and three days, one month short of the average, and we can only expect a proportionally short crop.

1857 Average crop in bales.....	3,279,800
Deduct 14 per cent. for one month short of average growing season.....	459,000
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Leaving for the actual crop only.....	2,820,800

From the above, I conclude that even if the Fall frost should be protracted to the 19th November, the latest period for the last thirty-two years, the growing crop cannot exceed 3,275,000 bales which would be much short of the commercial wants of the world, and if the Fall frost comes at the average period of the 26th October, or as often occurs before that time, the crop will not exceed 2,830,000.

ARE THE PUBLIC LANDS A SOURCE OF REVENUE?

Up to 1840, the first period which we shall consider, the public lands had cost the United States \$112,000,000, and they had brought in \$104,000,000. Of this amount, \$28,000,000 had just been distributed among the States under the Deposit act of 1836, leaving the amount of indebtedness of the lands to the Government \$36,000,000 of excess of cost over amount of sales. Here is the proof:

Paid for Louisiana.....	\$15,000,000
Interest paid thereon.....	8,329,353
Purchase of Florida.....	5,000,000
Interest paid thereon.....	1,430,000
Paid to Georgia.....	1,250,000
Same purchase in Mississippi stock.....	1,832,000
Extinguishing Indian titles.....	72,000,000
Surveys of public lands.....	3,250,000
Salaries and expenses of General Land Office....	1,250,000
Other land offices and officers.....	3,350,000

\$112,691,353

So that here is a clear deficiency, under the head of paying for themselves, of \$8,000,000. Add to that the \$28,000,000, and the deficiency is \$36,000,000. And if to this we should add, as we fairly might, the value of the lands given in exchange to Spain and to the Indians, and the cost of getting possession, *the deficiency would be many hundreds of millions.*

If this was so in 1840, the debt against the public lands is much greater now; large sums having been expended since, in the purchase and management of these lands. This amount and the expenses are *increasing* every year, while for a series of subsequent years the sales were almost nothing.

Let us see how the account stood for 1849, the latest date to which our official information extends, with rough estimates bringing the figures down to the present time:

Paid to France for Louisiana.....	\$15,000,000
Interest paid thereon.....	8,529,353
Paid to Spain for Florida....	5,000,000
Interest paid thereon.....	1,489,768
In lands in exchange, (estimated,).....	5,000,000
Paid to Georgia.....	1,250,000
Interest paid thereon.....	1,832,000
Paid for the Yazoo claims.....	4,282,757
Paid for exploring boundaries of land, &c.....	36,500
Paid to Indians for land to 1839.....	85,088,802
Appropriated and paid since to 1849.....	17,099,836

Since, for eight years, (estimated,).....	8,000,000
Land Office expenses to 1849.....	7,461,838
Since, for eight years, (estimated,).....	3,000,000
Survey, &c., to 1849.....	6,369,838
Since, for eight years, (estimated,).....	3,000,000
Paid to Mexico.....	15,000,000
Paid to Texas for her title.....	10,000,000
Additional Army expenses.....	10,000,000
Same for previous years.....	13,689,798
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Received by sales to date in all, say.....	221,130,490
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Deficiency.....	150,000,000
Add the cost of the Mexican war.....	71,130,490
And for the Florida war, the Black Hawk war, and all expenses of Indian wars, and to suppress Indian hostilities, for treaties and removal of In- dians, &c., &c., and it will be at least.....	217,175,577
	<hr/>
	200,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$488,306,060

Being nearly \$500,000,000 more than we have ever received for the lands acquired.

But this is not all. *We now owe many millions of annuities to the Indians for land under treaties*; and the expense of Indian treaties, Indian agents, commissioners, &c., amounts annually to a large sum. Indeed, nearly the whole expense of the Indian Department is justly chargeable to the public lands, and these expenditures have often exceeded the annual amount of the sales of land as far as shown:

Land sold in 1849.....	\$1,756,890
Land sold in 1850.....	1,818,819
Land sold in three-quarters of a year in 1851.....	1,938,119
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Sales for two years and three-quarters.....	\$5,508,828

The expense for the Indian Department from June, 1850, to December, 1851, one year and a half, was \$5,051,975 39.

Thus the sales for two years and three-quarters were only a trifle more than the expense of the Indian Department for one and a half years.

It is easy to calculate how much revenue is derived from the sales, when the expenses of this one Department are about \$3,500,000, and the whole sales are often but \$2,000,000 annually; especially when it is borne in mind that we obtained only a part of our lands of the Indian tribes.

330 THE CONSUMPTION OF SALT IN THE UNITED STATES.

To show how much revenue the public lands pay, take another statement:

*Appropriations made the first session of the Congress 1853-'4
for public lands.*

For surveys, (Louisiana \$68,000, Florida \$15,000,)	\$249,762
For Surveyor General of Northwest Territory....	80,720
For Receivers and Land Office expenses.....	170,825
For Commissioner of the Land Office, and contin- gent expenses.....	140,823
For removal of Seminole Indians, (Florida,).....	200,000
For treaty with Oregon tribes.....	25,000
For special Indian Agents, (various cases,).....	13,848
For annuities to Indians, and expenses, &c.....	2,216,214
Added by deficiency bill.....	416,196

\$3,513,328

Sales of land during the previous year..... 1,756,890

Deficiency.....\$1,756,438

The appropriations just about twice as much as the sales.

But this is not all, for we must add to this statement the sum of TEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS recently paid to Mexico in accordance with the terms of the Gadsden treaty, for the late cession of public lands to the United States. Indeed, we have no doubt, that whilst the public lands have yielded us less than \$150,000,000, they have cost us hugely more than \$500,000,000.

We have thus shown that the public lands are debtor to the Federal Tariff in the amount of millions of money; and that every dollar of the proceeds of their sales that shall be distributed to the States before the millions of outstanding cost have been returned, partakes of all the unconstitutionality of a direct distribution of revenue levied for the purpose of distribution, and all the impolicy and folly of robbing the masses of the people to pamper the State governments.

THE CONSUMPTION OF SALT IN THE UNITED STATES.

The following note was intended for the close of Mr. Dennis' article on Salt, which appeared in the August number of the Review, but was received too late to appear in its proper connection:

The estimated yearly consumption of salt in the United States for 1855 and 1856, (21,000,000 bushels,) may be rather below than above the mark; but from the scarcity of salt in 1854, and the low price of freight afterwards, the importation of both boiled and solar salt was greatly in excess of the consumption in the two first named years; and the first cause gave an impetus to the make of domestic boiled salt which led to a production at home above con-

sumption, also. The stock of salt on hand, I think, will account for any apparent discrepancy in the table above and the following, viz:

The Custom-house value, &c., of salt imported into the United States for the years 1853 to 1856, inclusive; and the estimated value and quantity of the home production of salt, from the Secretary of the Treasury's last Report on the state of the Finances:

	Value.	Bushels.	
Import for 1853....	\$1,041,577	00,000,000	
" 1854....	1,290,975	10,158,376	(Official.)
" 1855....	1,692,587	13,000,000	(Estimated.)
" 1856....	1,954,317	15,405,864	(From newspaper.)

Estimated value and quantity of salt manufactured in the United States in the year 1856:

	Value.	Bushels.	
New York.....	\$998,315	6,082,885	(Spt. Report.)
Virginia.....	700,466	4,200,000	(Estimated.)
Pennsylvania.....	206,796	1,200,000	"
Ohio.....	132,293	790,000	"
Massachusetts.....	93,850	550,000	"
The total for the U. S..	2,222,745	13,200,000	"

In all of the above cases, except New York, the number of bushels are estimated by myself, predicated on the value of New York salt; yet one authority before me sets down Massachusetts at only 46,000 bushels for that year, and I have good reason to believe the quantity was not above 10,000 to 15,000 bushels. I likewise have good reason for thinking that the above estimated value of salt manufactured in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, is greatly above the true mark. In addition to positive information, it is well known that the enormous increase of the make of boiled salt in New York is the result of increased facilities of transport over wide territories of country since 1829, thereby opening extensive new markets for the article; while in regard to the other three States in question, since that period, the increase in facilities for transport have been less in degree, nor have there been near so many new markets opened for their salt as in the case of New York. Evidently, the above estimate by the Secretary of the Treasury, is not compiled with care. Florida is left out of it as a producer entirely.

To show that much salt must be sold in the United States under the name of "Turk's Island" that could not have been made in that region, I will state the fact, that our whole imports, from the Bahamas, in 1853, only amounted in value to \$155,932 80, and one-half of that sum must have been for fruit.

THE OPELOUSAS RAILROAD.

The Directors of the Opelousas Railroad Company have decided upon using their utmost exertions to push forward their railroad, to the Texas line, on the Sabine river. They have sent out their engineers to locate the road, and to make selections of the lands donated by Congress. The work is to be prosecuted at once, from its present terminus to New Iberia, and will be carried on beyond that with all possible despatch.

For these purposes, the company have issued first mortgage bonds to the amount of two millions of dollars, payable in thirteen years, with interest at 8 per cent. on semi-annual coupons of 4 per cent. each.

This mortgage is on the road as finished to Berwick's Bay, with all its franchises, appurtenances, and equipments, built

dings and rolling stock. This road is eighty miles in length, and a complete road in itself, of immense local value, forming the channel of intercourse between New Orleans and the richest portion of the heart of the State. It cost to the company, as it is offered in mortgage, about \$2,600,000, and is a productive and revenue paying road without a peradventure. The road was not completed to Berwick's Bay at the last annual report, but the gross earnings on the road, for passengers and freight, amounted to \$206,365, being an increase of \$90,069, or nearly 80 per cent., of which the increase in freights was about 103 per cent., and on passengers about 50 per cent.

This shows the road to be full security for the loan, to be made more solid by the large increase of business incident to its completion, and in full use to Berwick's Bay, and the beneficial results upon the growth and business of that wealthy region.

But the company make additional and very large independent provision for the payment of the bonds, beyond the resources of the road itself. They make a specific pledge of the proceeds of the sales of the donated lands between Opelousas and the Sabine.

The length of this part of the road is 91 miles, and the estimated quantity of land to be selected under the grants of Congress is 355,000 acres, and they are described as among the best lands in Louisiana. Heretofore shut out from market, for the want of roads, they have been unavailable. A railroad—and such a road as this—will raise them at once into demand. The engineer of the road—who has inspected the route and the lands—says without hesitation that the sales of the lands will build the road. They become by the mortgage a special fund for the payment of the bonds for which the whole road is bound as security. We do not know where there is a better investment offered for the positive security of principal and punctual payment of interest.

But the people of this State, and especially of this city, have stronger motives than that of a dividend on stock, for taking up these bonds, and completing this road. It is a direct avenue from New Orleans to the heart of Texas; the channel by which we are to be connected immediately with the whole rail-road system of Texas, and to bring the trade of regions almost illimitable in extent and fertility directly to this metropolis. A company has been organized in Texas under the general railroad law, to build a road from the Buffalo Bayou to the Sabine. The union completed there, we are in direct communication with Galveston, and by the various Texas railroads, become the depot of an immense trade yet in its infancy, and capable of immense development.

The prospective advantages are very great, and the means simple, safe, and offered to our acceptance. We do not doubt that the company will succeed in raising the means by the ready sale of their bonds, and that their work will, with the energy which now pervades in the management, be successfully prosecuted.

EDITORIAL, ETC.

Col. Butler, of Louisiana, to whom the letters from Gen. Jackson were directed, which formed the subject of Mr. Gayarre's pamphlet, extracted from in the pages of the Review, and commented upon by Col. Gadsden, of South Carolina, has addressed us a note, which we cheerfully place before our readers. As the ward of Gen. Jackson, Col. Butler regards this vindication of his memory as a pious duty:

DEAR SIR: In the July Number of your Review, I find a letter from my friend, Col. Gadsden, (elicited by a passage in one of General Jackson's letters to me, concerning his acceptance and subsequent rejection of the first mission to Mexico,) in which, he remarks: "The letter of General Jackson, which, you say, should be recorded in letters of gold, is the more to be appreciated, as not, a speculative philosophy, to guard against personal conflicts, but the inculcations of experience, which he administers to a young friend just entering on the varied responsibility of life. Few men have encountered in life, more personal collisions than Andrew Jackson. They are the dark spots on the patriot's character, the error of which, he endeavored to atone for in the letter to his friend."

I am convinced that no man living would more unwillingly do injustice to the character of Andrew Jackson than James Gadsden; and, yet, I feel that he has, unconsciously adopted a popular error; and that, in not one of the "personal collisions" referred to, was he the aggressor. Mr. Dickinson, voluntarily and unfortunately, interposed, in a personal difficulty with another; Col. Benton (under the excitement caused by intelligence of the wounding of his brother, in a duel with General

Carroll, in which General Jackson reluctantly officiated as second of the latter,) wrote a harsh and insulting letter, which unavoidably produced a personal collision, but was afterwards atoned for by a life of personal and political devotion. General Armstrong, the celebrated author of the "Newberg Letters," incurred his displeasure, whilst Secretary of War, by ordering the discharge of his faithful and patriotic Tennesseans, whilst without means, and far from their homes and their parents, to whom he had promised never to desert them; the venerable Ritchie, like Mr. Jefferson and others, who then knew him not, had spoken disparagingly of him; McCrawford, whilst Secretary of War, had refused to recognize and to pay his famous mounted riflemen, who proved so efficient in his campaigns against the Indians, and was, afterwards, falsely represented as having concurred in the attempt to censure him for his conduct in the Seminole war. Mr. Clay, it will be ever recollected, led the war in a similar attempt in the House of Representatives, and at a subsequent period, after defeating his election to the Presidency, added insult to injury, by denouncing him as "a mere military chieftain." General Scott took what he considered an unwarrantable liberty with his military reputation, in denouncing at a private dinner party an order, which, as commander of a military department, he felt it due to the service and himself to issue; and last, though not least, Mr. Calhoun, whom he had been induced to consider his staunchest friend in Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, was represented as having proposed to arraign him before a court of inquiry, for his fearless and noble conduct of the Seminole war.

Two only of the distinguished individuals referred to now survive; but, there are others, doubtless, now alive

who are more conversant with some of the particulars mentioned than myself; and, if I have erred in stating them, I trust they will do me the justice to attribute any inaccuracies to defect of memory, not to intentional misrepresentation; and the fact of my having volunteered this statement to what I esteem a religious and imperative duty, ever to defend, as far as in my power, the good name of Andrew Jackson.

I think and believe that, after consideration of these facts, my valued friend, Col. Gadsden, (than whom no man is more sensitive in regard to matters affecting his own honor,) will arrive at the conclusion, that the "collisions" or controversies to which he alludes, do not constitute "dark spots on the patriot's character; but were unavoidable under a becoming regard for his rights and reputation.

Very respectfully, &c.

Again our readers are referred to the advertisement of *Old Point Comfort*, which appears in the pages of the Review. The testimonials which accompany it from Medical men of the highest character, incontrovertibly establish the fact, that it is one of the most salubrious and healthy of all the summer retreats in our Southern country. There has been in its history an entire exemption enjoyed from bilious and intermittent fevers during the summer and fall months. The present proprietor, Mr. Segar, is determined to keep the establishment open every season as late as November, and perhaps later. He is a Southern gentleman, and well understands how to please a Southern public. The terms are reasonable. Let all who would enjoy fine, bracing sea air and bathing, fish, oysters, ocean prospects, and a good table, visit Old Point, which is easily accessible from Richmond or from Baltimore. The editor speaks from experience, having the

present season remained for some time at the Point with a sick child, which also derived the greatest advantage.

It affords us pleasure, at the same time, to mention the *Montgomery White Sulphur Springs*, situated in the most picturesque region of Virginia, on the East Tennessee Road. The accommodations are very extensive, and the charms of the place, in every respect, not excelled by any other among the mountains.

See the advertisement of the *Rockbridge Alum Springs*. We have some valuable notes and facts in regard to these waters, which will be incorporated in another issue.

Messrs. Ettinger & Edmond, of Richmond, Virginia, have the most extensive works for the manufacture of locomotives, boilers, tanks, stationary engines, saw mills, tobacco presses, mill works, railroad cars, water wheels, etc., upon terms which will compete with the North, and they are entitled to a liberal encouragement from Southern planters, which we hope they will abundantly receive.

In another place appears the card of the Shelbyville Educational Institution, under charge of Dr. A. L. Hamilton. It is in successful progress.

Shelbyville, Tennessee, is situated about sixty miles south of Nashville, in Bedford County, at the terminus of a short branch of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. The town contains about 3,000 inhabitants, and owing to its elevated location, is remarkable for its *healthfulness*.

Young men, from the extreme South, could not do better than spend a few seasons at this Institution.

HYGEIA HOTEL, OLD POINT COMFORT, VIRGINIA.

The following letter from Mr. Segar, with the numerous testimonials in regard to Old Point Comfort, will interest our readers. We are in hopes to see this favorite old watering place crowded the present summer with the wealth, intelligence, and beauty of the South:

This most delightful Summer Resort—the “bright particular” locality of all the sunny South—is now the sole property of the undersigned, and will be opened on the 1st of June next, and each successive June following. I engage to make it to the seekers for health, recreation, gayety, and good living, supremely attractive.

For health, no mountain retreat can be safer, at any season of the year. It is as exempt from disease in August, and September, and October, as in April, May, or June. Indeed, the first three are infinitely the most pleasant of the season. The weather is milder, the sea breeze balmy, and the luxuries of the salt water, are to be had of finer quality, and in greater profusion. There is no more inviting spot on the whole Atlantic Seaboard. It is strictly true of it, what the Poet hath said:

“Oh! if there be an Elysium on earth, it is this, it is this!”

That visitors may safely seek its attractions at all seasons of the year, I submit the following letters of Drs. Jarvis, Archer, Semple, Shield, Hope, Mallory, Simkins, and Vaughan, and of James S. French, Esq., who, for nearly ten years, was the proprietor of the establishment. My own experience and observation for more than thirty years past, are to the same effect.

Old Point Comfort, April 25, 1857.

JOS. SEGAR, Proprietor.

FORT MONROE, Virginia, February 11, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday asking my opinion as to the “character of Old Point Comfort for health, and particularly as to its exemption from diseases of a bilious character.”

A residence of three years at old Point Comfort as the Surgeon of this Post, enables me to bear full testimony to its well known salubrity, and the reputation it has heretofore enjoyed in its exemption from the ordinary forms of disease, especially those of a malarial or febrile nature, usually prevailing during the spring or autumnal months in other sections of the country and neighborhood.

The records of the military hospital for years past further confirm my own experience, not only in this fortunate exemption from that class of disease ordinarily arising from malaria, but in the less frequency as well as diminished severity of those epidemics that have, from time to time, prevailed in almost every portion of our country.

I remain yours, very respectfully,

JOS. SEGAR, Esq., Roseland, Va.

N. S. JARVIS, M. D., Surgeon U. S. A.

RICHMOND, August 7, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor requesting my opinion as to the general healthiness of Old Point Comfort, is received, and I hasten to reply.

I resided at Old Point, as Post Surgeon and as Physician, upwards of twenty years, and I have no hesitation in saying, that there are few, if any localities in the United States, more healthy at all seasons of the year.

I know of no place more exempt from bilious diseases, and I have never known a case of intermittent fever to originate there.

In fine, I consider visitors from any climate as safe from disease, at Old Point Comfort, during the autumn months, as they would be in the mountains; or any where at the North.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Old Point Comfort.

E. ARCHER.

HAMPTON, August 18, 1856.

DEAR SIR: It gives me pleasure to comply with your request to state my opinion of the salubrity of Old Point Comfort, during the summer and autumn.

Having practiced medicine for the last ten years among the residents and visitors, and having been frequently employed to attend the Garrison, I am entirely satisfied that the place is entirely exempt from bilious fevers of all kinds—the very few such cases which have fallen under my treatment, having been clearly traceable to exposure at some notorious miasmatic locality.

Visitors at Old Point are as perfectly safe, at any season, from intermittent and remittent fever, as they would be in any mountainous region. Patients suffering in such regions from bronchial affections, particularly asthma, are uniformly benefited by a visit to Old Point.

I can also state that several army surgeons have informed me that the sick reports show less sickness at Fort Monroe than any military post in the Union.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Hygeia Hotel, Old Point Comfort.

G. WM. SEMPLE, M. D.

HAMPTON, August 28, 1856.

DEAR SIR: Yours of yesterday's date, asking my opinion of the health of Old Point Comfort, is before me.

I have been practising medicine in Hampton and Old Point for 15 years, and consider it as healthy a place as any that I know on the face of the earth. I do not remember having seen there a case of remittent or intermittent fever that was not contracted elsewhere.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Hygeia Hotel.

Very respectfully,

S. R. SHIELD.

HAMPTON, August 22, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to your queries contained in your note of the 7th inst., it gives me pleasure to state that, in my opinion, Old Point Comfort is as healthy a locality as any on the Atlantic coast.

Persons from any part of our country may remain there through the entire year with perfect safety. The endemic diseases of all this region, I may add, have become very much modified of late, as any one at all familiar with the causes which produce them, might, upon the slightest observation, perceive. An ordinary case of bilious fever seldom requires more than two or three days' treatment.

I have not, during a practice of more than five years in this vicinity, seen a case of intermittent or bilious fever which originated at Old Point.

Yours truly,
JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Roseland.

JESSE P. HOPE.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Hygeia Hotel.

NORFOLK, VA., August 25, 1856.

DEAR SIR: In regard to the health of Old Point, I have only to remark, that having been familiar with the place ever since my boyhood, I speak confidently when I declare it to be among the healthiest spots on the Continent of America. Bilious and ague fever are unknown there, while in all our epidemics it has escaped unharmed. I would sooner take my chance at Old Point to avoid those diseases in summer and fall than the mountains, or even at the White Sulphur. For eight years I resided in the vicinity of Old Point, and for the remainder of my life in Norfolk, thus affording me ample opportunity of ascertaining the fact in question. Since 1819, when the extensive public works were commenced, Old Point has contained quite a large population, made up of the military and persons connected with the Engineer Department, to say nothing of other citizens and visitors. These have enjoyed, at all seasons, an unexampled share of excellent health.

The United States Government has, on several occasions, sent troops to Old Point from other stations to recruit their health, and with the desired effect. What induced this was, doubtless, the favorable reports of the Army Surgeons as to the sanitary character of the place. We cannot account for tastes, nor can we control fashion; but it has always been a matter of surprise to me that visitors should leave the Point just at the time when it is most pleasant. The latter part of August and the whole of September are among the healthiest and most agreeable periods to remain at Old Point; for the air is bracing and yet mild during the day, and at night you sleep comfortably under a blanket. Hog fish and oysters are of much finer flavor than in July, and the fishing far better than in the extreme heat of the summer. No one within the broad limits of the Old Dominion can have failed to appreciate the beauty of our Indian Summer (so called.) This, while it endures some few weeks in other localities, lasts the whole fall at the Point, commencing about the 20th of August. I can give no stronger proof of the earnestness and sincerity of my convictions on this head, than by declaring that if the authorities would grant me permission to erect a cottage on the beach, I would gladly avail myself of the privilege with a view to residing there all summer and fall with my family. But I will not enlarge on this topic. There is, and there can be, no dispute on the subject, since all who know the place will endorse every word I have uttered. The health of Old Point, and its exemption from the fall diseases of our climate, are facts too well established to admit of cavil or doubt; indeed, to quote the words of a conspicuous politician, it is a "*fixed fact*."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
F. MALLORY, M. D.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq.

NORFOLK, August 24, 1856.

DEAR SIR: Having spent my school-boy days in the immediate vicinity to Old Point, and somewhat familiar for many years with the hygeaic condition of the people—residents and guests, who annually assembled there, I am enabled to answer your inquiry with entire confidence in the correctness of my own conclusions. This experience has satisfied me that no locality in our latitude can be more healthy. Unconnected with the "main," save by a narrow strip of beach land, which is only partially covered with a stunted vegetation, its sources every where washed by the salt ocean wave, and without a single sunken spot where vegetable humus can gather, it seems to me utterly impossible that malaria can be generated there, or that noxious airs can reach it from my portion of the adjacent country. Come from whatever point of the compass the winds may, *they are sea breezes* still, and could scarcely waft a poisonous exhalation from the *distant* shores abroad.

In my estimation, fevers of a bilious, remittent or intermittent type might as soon be expected to originate on the highest peak of the Blue Ridge, as on the clean, barren sand plane on which the Hygeia Hotel is built.

Yours, truly,
J. J. SIMKINS.

HAMPTON, VA., March 30, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter requesting my opinion of the general healthiness of Old Point Comfort, and particularly as to its exemption from bilious diseases.

In reply to your inquiry, it gives me pleasure to state, that I know of no place in Virginia which Old Point Comfort will not, in that respect, favorably compare; and I do not remember ever to have seen a case of bilious fever which originated at that place.

Yours, respectfully,

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Roseland.

WM. E. VAUGHAN, M. D.

ALEXANDRIA, August 25, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of 20th instant, I can only say, that the healthiest spot I have ever known is Old Point Comfort; and this I say after a residence there of eight or nine years. A very mistaken notion prevails as to its health in August and the fall months, and there are persons who deem it unsafe to remain there at such times. My own experience teaches me that, for comfort and health, Old Point is far more desirable in August and the fall months than earlier. Fish and oysters are in greater perfection, and no climate can be purer, or more delightful, or healthier. At any season of the year, Spring, Summer, Autumn, or Winter, I would as soon take my chance for health there as at the White Sulphur Springs, or any watering place in America.

Yours, very truly,

JAMES S. FRENCH.

JOSEPH SEGAR, Esq., Roseland, Ellis City Co., Va.